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ABSTRACT

The forty papers that make up the second part of the proceedings of the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages cover a wide range of topics relating to foreign language teaching and linguistic theory: the interdisciplinary approach to second language instruction, individualized instruction, foreign language education for adults, communicative competence in second languages, textbook selection, audiovisual aids, culture instruction, vocabulary expansion, generative grammar and dialect differences, sociolinguistic considerations in second language teaching, grammar, the preparation of concordance data, study abroad, language testing, error analysis, language dominance assessment, and ethnicity. (CLK)

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PROCEEDINGS

PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL
ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING
APRIL 22-24, 1976

Second Language Teaching 76
Volume XXVII, Part 2

~~*Foreign Literatures*~~
Pedagogy + Linguistics

DAVID P. BENSELER

EDITOR

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword v

SPECIAL ADDRESS

THE 200TH YEAR: MORE NEED THAN EVER BEFORE FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY
Gilbert A. Jarvis 1

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BACK TO THE BASICS
Michael H. Macdonald 7

DE NUPTIIS HUMANITATIS ET LINGUARUM: BLISS IN THE INTERDISCIPLINARY MODE
David P. Sudermann 11

GUIDED DESIGN: A POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTION TO FOREIGN LANGUAGE METHODOLOGY
Joseph F. Renahan 17

MODERN LANGUAGE METHODS: A RESEARCH ORIENTATION
Robert D. Kiekel 20

THE ADULT EDUCATION FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM
Dana Carton 23

A REPORT ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SINGING AS A TOOL IN THE TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRONUNCIATION
Antonio C. M. Gil 26

GUIDELINES FOR THE SELECTION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS IN THE COMMON SCHOOLS: A WORKABLE PROCESS
Keith Crosbie 28

CONVERSATION SESSIONS IN AN INDIVIDUALIZED SPANISH PROGRAM
Diana Conway Berkowitz 32

SECOND-YEAR FRENCH THROUGH FILMS
Jeanne Bernard 36

THE CONTEMPORARY OCCITAN CHANSON
Klaus Engelhardt 38

LES MINORITÉS LINGUISTIQUES EN SUISSE
Anton Andereggen 42

A MULTI-DISCIPLINARY SYNTHESIS IN THE GERMAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION COURSE
Karen R. Achberger 45

WALTER KEMPOWSKI: ZEIT- UND KULTURGESCHICHTE AUS DEM ZETTELKASTEN
Henrich Brockhaus 49

PRINCIPLES OF SYSTEMATIC VOCABULARY EXPANSION IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE
Wolf Hollerbach 53

GENERATIVE GRAMMAR AND DIALECT DIFFERENCES
Robert C. Ewen 57

THINGS YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW BUT WERE AFRAID TO ASK ABOUT QUECHUA
Wolfgang A. Luchting 62

COMMUNICATING IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE: SOME SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS
Joseph H. Matluck 66

SPRACHMANIPULATION UND PROPAGANDALITERATUR IM DRITTEN REICH
Günther Matschke 70

EIN AM TOR DER VERGESSENHEIT STEHENDER OSTNIEDERDEUTSCHER DIALEKT
Guenter G. Schmalz 73

DISJOINTED NOUN MODIFIERS IN FRENCH
Wolf Hollerbach 79

DIE SLOWENISCHE MINDERHEIT IN ÖSTERREICHS SÜDKÄRNTEN
Leo A. Jecny 83

EL BIERZO: INEVITABLE DISAPPEARANCE OF A MINI-MINORITY
Manuel Jato Macías 86

A CRITIQUE OF SARTRE'S ON A RAISON DE SE RÉVOLTER
Bernard J. Quinn 89

ON THE PREPARATION OF CONCORDANCE DATA
Demetrius J. Koubourlis 92

FOREIGN LANGUAGE TRAINING PRIOR TO STUDY ABROAD: A NEW PERSPECTIVE
Walter H. Lemke, Jr., W. Frank Hull IV, and Richard T. Houang 96

CAREER-RELATED STUDY ABROAD: AN IDEA COMES OF AGE
Alan Galt 99

REFORMATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING: CAREER EDUCATION
Wolfgang O. Dill 102

CAREER EDUCATION AT THE COLLEGE LEVEL: THE FIFTH SPOKE IN THE WHEEL OF GERMANISTIK
Claus Reschke 106

FOLKLORE OF TESTING
Harry Reinert 110

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD PUBLISHERS' TESTS
Charles Stansfield 112

SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF ERROR ANALYSIS AND TRANSITIONAL COMPETENCE
Milton M. Azevedo 115

EVIDENCE FOR A GENERAL LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY FACTOR: AN EXPECTANCY GRAMMAR
John W. Oller, Jr. 118

A COMPREHENSIVE PLACEMENT TEST: A MODEL FOR CRITERION-REFERENCED PERFORMANCE TESTING
William Geffen 124

ASSESSING LANGUAGE DOMINANCE: IMPLICATIONS FOR INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAMS
Betty J. Mace-Matluck 129

AN ETHNIC'S VIEW OF ETHNICITY: THE YUGOSLAV EXPERIENCE
Joseph F. Kess, Želimir B. Juričić, and Cathleen A. Kees 132

PORTUGUESE TILES IN THE GREAT AMERICAN MOSAIC: AN OVERVIEW OF FIVE HUNDRED YEARS
Frederick G. Williams 135

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: THE "GOOD QUAKER" AT KING LOUIS' COURT
Carolyn Wilberger 141

HERITAGE: SEED TO THE HARVEST OF THE FUTURE
Rex C. Dahl 145

EDUCATION, RACE, AND THE COLONIZATION OF CHICANOS
Zaher Wahab 148

Program: Twenty-Seventh Annual Conference 152
PNCFL Minutes 162
PNCFL Financial Statement 174
PNCFL Constitution (Revised, April 1976) 178
PNCFL 1950 - 1976 181
List of Registrants and Members 182

FOREWORD

Volume twenty-seven of the PROCEEDINGS of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages, like its immediate predecessor, is published in two parts. Scholarly papers presented in Foreign Literatures comprise Part 1, while contributions in foreign language Pedagogy and Linguistics appear in Part 2.

The publication of this volume marks two significant developments in the PROCEEDINGS' twenty-seven year history. First, the section heads' work did not end with the completion of the annual conference; in a departure from past practices, they also served as the Editorial Board. Second, the present volume contains for the first time papers in Scandinavian literature. The inclusion of these essays reflects PNCFL's continuing attempt to provide a forum for teachers of all languages and literatures offered by Pacific Northwest institutions.

No undertaking as broad and diverse as the present volume could possibly succeed without the untiring efforts of a large number of dedicated professionals. I wish to note here my sincere gratitude to colleagues in departments from Alaska to the Southwest, and from Montana to Hawaii: to Ray A. Verzasconi, whom I succeed as editor, for his constant willingness to provide needed encouragement and advice; to Jean-Charles Seigneuret, Chairman of the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Washington State University, for both editorial office space and for time to complete the editing process; to Katherine Szabo for service "above and beyond the call" in typing the manuscript; and to the members of the Editorial Board for shepherding the manuscripts in their charge from start to finish with tender cynicism. All of these individuals allowed the editor to complete his work with a minimum of difficulty.

David P. Benseler

In Memoriam

LOUIS EARL RICHTER

1918-1976

Professor of French
Oregon State University

THE 200TH YEAR: MORE NEED THAN EVER BEFORE FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY*

Gilbert A. Jarvis
The Ohio State University

Introduction

Because centennials are for looking forward as well as backward, I gave myself this year the task of looking back at the past 200 years of United States history and, at the same time, examining the present or near future in an attempt to identify any links that seemed to have importance for foreign language education in 1976. I was continually aware that I was searching, not with the skills of an historian or a sociologist, but as a foreign language teacher. I also discovered quickly how very little I knew about the history of people in this country. These limitations did not preclude, however, my reaching a conclusion, which is at the same time a conviction; namely, that the evolution of our society through these 200 years has forged a powerful need for foreign language study today by all young people. What impressed me most prominently during my reading and thinking was the manner in which we as a society have dealt with diversity in people. I should like therefore to take a few glimpses into the past, then describe what seems to be a present trend, and finally identify what I see as the implications of this trend for our classrooms. In a sense, I am asking: "What can it mean to be a foreign language teacher at the time of the Bicentennial of a nation that was formed by speakers of dozens and dozens of different languages?"

I genuinely fear that too often we all attend conferences and read professional journals solely in the hope of discovering specific ideas that can be related to what we are going to do in our classrooms on Monday morning. It is indeed possible that we would be better off if we occasionally devoted some of our attention to philosophical perspectives--perhaps even to ivory-tower perspectives--for one can usually see farther and more clearly from a tower than from amid the rush and pressure of day-to-day activity that often consumes all our energies.

Two Hundred Years of People

Looking back over 200 years, we can count more than 40 million people who were born elsewhere and who came to the United States. That is a large number in what can be viewed as a rather short time: if one views a generation as being 30 years in duration, then only seven generations have passed since the signing of the Declaration of Independence. During that time one of the most prominent characteristics of our society has to be its diversity. Those 40 million people, plus those living here already, are probably the most diverse group ever to come together, ever to live together on a single corner of this little blue marble in the sky. I hesitate to call those who came here "immigrants" (though that is an entirely legitimate term), because that anonymous label evokes for too many of us an image of a faceless stream of shawl-covered women and weary men who drag with them their most-valued possessions. We would be simplistic if we thought in terms of this one image, but so many of us are apt to do so. We forget that each of those 40 million persons--in his own unique way--laughed, cried, hoped, remembered, and dreamed, just as each of us does. True, many of these new-arrivals shared a common dream of freedom and well-being; nevertheless, their specific motives that led to that dream form an ironic mix of opposites: some were motivated by courage, others by fear. Some by hope, others by despair. Some chose freely; others were coerced. They had come from diverse nations; they spoke many languages. Somehow, they created a unity within diversity--and most of us would judge that creation favorably. Yet, almost from the beginning it appears that many forces converged and militated to diminish the diversity with which we started. The differences came to be viewed as a nuisance to be eradicated, or else they seemed superficial in comparison with a certain sameness that everyone shared and that was much more important. In thousands of subtle ways our society learned to de-emphasize or to overlook differences among people. People thought that life would indeed be easier if we were all more alike. We, as a society, had ascribed to the so-called "melting-pot theory."

In elementary school we all learned that the United States is a melting pot. This theory called for the complete assimilation of all groups into a single "average Yankee." One version of the theory, called the "Anglo Conformity Theory," demanded total renunciation of the individual's culture in favor of the values and behavior of the Anglo-Saxon core group. In other words, all cultures were to be obliterated in favor of Anglo-Saxon culture. Ellwood Cubberley, in a history of education, epitomized this approach when he wrote in 1919:

> The early Germans usually came in groups, formed settlements by themselves, held themselves aloof, and . . . awakened considerable alarm, as they, for a time, showed but little disposition to become part of our national life. . . . Southern and Eastern Europeans were . . . largely illiterate, docile, often lacking in initiative, and almost wholly without the Anglo-Saxon conceptions of righteousness, liberty, law, order, public decency and government; their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock and to weaken and corrupt our political life.[1]

---

*A resume of an earlier and different version of this address appeared in the Newsletter of the Foreign Language Association of Northern California.

Other versions of the melting-pot theory called for a blending of cultures into a single American type, presumedly via intermarriage and leading ultimately to a biological merger of Anglo-Saxon people with other groups. The effect, in 1976 terms, has been compared to the sort of homogenized, colorless liquid that results when you put items that are diverse in color, texture, shape, and taste into an electric blender. Every spoonful of that liquid looks the same, feels the same, and tastes the same. There is furthermore a striking contrast with a pot-au-feu or bouillabaisse, with varied ingredients bobbing about in it more or less compatibly, each being influenced by other ingredients but still retaining its individuality.[2]

The melting-pot model was so totally accepted that massive assimilation came to be viewed as a requisite to national unity.[3] On an individual level, this widespread suppression of cultural differences quickly led new arrivals to learn that disowning their own culture, their language, and sometimes even their family name was a prerequisite to success. Zangwill, in the play The Melting Pot, depicted the United States as the crucible of God:

> It is the fires of God round His Crucible. There she lies, the great Melting Pot--listen! Can't you hear the roaring and the bubbling?. . . . Ah, what a stirring and a seething! Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian,--black and yellow,--Jew and Gentile--yet, East and West, and North and South, the palm and the pine, the pole and the equator, the crescent and the cross--how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purging flame! Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God.[4]

As we have slowly come to realize, the melting pot was never fully achieved. We cannot avoid acknowledging the tragedy each time we see those black-and-white photographs and lithographs of groups landing at Ellis Island: too many of them "stuck to the bottom of the pot."

Not until very recently do we find acceptance and articulation of contrary views. Luis Valdez of El Teatro Campesino, for example, poignantly represents the effect of this philosophy upon the minority individual: "They say this is the melting pot. I wonder who invented the melting pot. Horrible term! You melt people down, God! It shouldn't be that way. Our country should be a place where the individual is sacred. We have so many different sorts of people. Every man has his own heart. Who gives you the right to cut out a man's heart and put it in a melting pot?"[5]

Convincing proof that the melting pot has not worked is the very existence of the many hyphenated-American terms (e.g., Mexican-American, Italian-American, Japanese-American). As Carpenter and Torney have sensitively described, even those who were assimilated have begun voicing their concerns and verbalizing conflicts that had long been repressed.[6] They now desire a freedom to choose earlier cultural values. For them, the price of success was exorbitant: it often demanded rejection of culture, family, and self. The newcomers and their offspring were not seeking immutability in their values and behavior but simply the human order that was destroyed when cultures and languages were disdainfully thrown into disarray. They craved the integrity and fundamental equality that had been obliterated by denial of self, family, and origins. They felt a compelling need to regain the basic self-esteem and identity that had been vetoed by the "acceptance of a dominant culture as humanly superior. They wished for freedom to put aside even earlier values and to choose whatever legitimate values and behaviors were really fulfilling,"[7] but freedom of choice had not been tolerated by the melting-pot model.

The Changes of the 1970's

Partly through evolution, partly because of vigorous action by persons and groups who felt stifled, we seem to be moving gradually away from the melting pot to what is commonly called "cultural pluralism." We seem to be giving a new meaning to the term "All-American." We are coming to see our society as a mosaic, a rich mosaic of cultures, subcultures, and differences among individuals. Diverse values and behaviors are increasingly regarded as resources that enrich society rather than nuisances which detract from it and which should be either eradicated or hidden. This societal evolution is of course very gradual, and while the direction seems clear to most society watchers, we would all undoubtedly have varying judgments about the degree to which it has already become a reality. We would also differ in our sentiments about complications that seem to accompany the change. Unquestionably, this growing respectability for diversity does at times lead to tensions. Differences between individuals of different ages are labelled a "generation gap." The adoption of diverse roles for women, rather than a single stereotyped role, strains or modifies families in all segments of society. Institutions that in one way or another endorse conformity and uniformity (e.g., government, religions, education) have lost some esteem. Cultural groups assert their group identities at festivals, in ethnic heritage studies, and in legislative action.

This evolution manifests itself in other ways that may seem superficial to some readers, but they are ways that touch the lives of millions of persons. In schools this change is manifested in diversification of the curriculum and in various curricular arrangements labelled "individualizing." (One of the options recently added in some places is even a "back-to-basics" approach.) In advertising, the manifestation is insurance companies proclaiming directly that there is no one like you, or a Puerto Rican rum advertisement dictating, "Follow your own road." It is: Saturday morning classes in Polish at St. Stanislav's church; increasing variability in life styles, fashions, and legitimate values; a growth of more than thirty percent over the past two years in the number of people over age 35 returning to school in one form or another--all wanting a kind of fulfillment; this past year's jewelry bonanza--a mood or temperament ring that communicates by color change information about what a person is at any given moment.

Thus, the evolution can be viewed on several levels of impact. Individuals are seeking to be more aware of their own unique identities; they are also seeking group identity, often an ethnic-group identity. The concept of cultural pluralism focuses on both these levels of identity. The National Coalition for Cultural Pluralism has defined the concept as

> . . . a state of equal coexistence in a mutually supportive relationship within the boundaries or framework of one nation of people of diverse cultures with significantly different patterns of belief, behavior, color, and in many cases with different languages. To achieve cultural pluralism there must be unity with diversity. Each person must be aware of and secure in his own identity, and be willing to extend to others the same respect and rights that he expects to enjoy himself.[8]

This definition is rich in implications--implications that are, in my judgment, pertinent to every foreign language classroom.

In the context of 1976, however, it strikes me that these implications and the definition itself ought to extend beyond our country to a planetary level. Restricting the concept to one nation seems unduly narrow. Reischauer, for example, has argued eloquently and vigorously as follows:

> Before long, humanity will face many grave difficulties that can only be solved on a global scale. For this there must be a much higher degree of understanding and a far greater capacity for cooperation between disparate peoples and nations than exist now. Education, however, as it is presently conducted in this country--and in every other country in the world, for that matter--is not moving rapidly enough in the right direction to produce the knowledge about the outside world and the attitudes toward other peoples that may be essential for human survival within a generation or two. This, I feel, is a much greater international problem than the military balance of power that absorbs so much of our attention today.[9]

Foreign Language Education and Cultural Pluralism

The concept of cultural pluralism demands not only awareness of differences but also the accepting and valuing of diversity in people. Pluralism is the antithesis of assimilation; it is recognition that there exist multiple ways to be human, and not one of these multiple ways should exact a penalty of second-class citizenship. Pluralism is recognition of each person's "selfness." Such recognition implies awareness. That awareness, in turn, requires acceptance of what one is or what one is becoming. Pluralism is also the parallel awareness that others too have their own identities and uniqueness. Thus, cultural pluralism requires both cognitive awareness of various sorts and a subsequent value system that permits me to be me and you to be you--and that at the same time values a sense of community.

It would seem that education should have an important role in such learning. (Education did play a significant role in attempting to standardize us at the time when societal needs included items like basic literacy for large numbers of people.) Education becomes important because I fear that many of the insights and attitudes required of everyone in order to optimize a pluralistic society--to make it work to its best potential--have been eliminated or precluded by nearly 200 years of valuing the basic core that we all share much more highly than the differences that make each of us unique. We have great difficulty imagining, for example, what it was like to live here 75 or 100 years ago, for we have not developed the skill to feel what it is like to be someone else. The expression "to crawl into someone else's skin" does not today mean "to sense what it is like to be another person"; it has come to mean "what would I do if I were in the other person's situation." We have developed neither favorable attitudes nor interest in discovering the realities of other persons. Only actors and actresses may come close to sensing what it was like to climb aboard a prairie schooner; to ride the Great Northern through scarcely touched wilderness; to be a Sioux Indian seeing and hearing that train for the first time; to take a trolley to the new amusement park at the edge of town. These experiences seem very remote to most of us. We have learned facts, dates, events, but not about people. We know little more than the names of the eras: Revolutionary War, Frontier, Westward Expansion, Civil War, Gay Nineties, Roaring Twenties. We do not know what it was like to be someone else yesterday, and perhaps more tragically, we do not have a good sense of what it is like to be someone else today. How well do you know what it is like to be the person nearest you? How well do you know what it is like to be a particular student in your class?

While education's role can take many forms, I believe that foreign language learning can create insights and foster attitudes that are important in a pluralistic society--important to the individual and to society. Some very fundamental awarenesses can better occur in our classrooms than in any others. Recognition that people differ dramatically may seem like a very elementary insight to sophisticated language teachers. Quite to the contrary, for a young person it is a profound bit of learning. I know of no one who was born with knowledge about sameness and differences among people. The majority of our students have had only monocultural experiences; they have not seen the other side of where they live. The discovery that other people carry different realities in their heads is an extraordinary bit of learning for a young person. That discovery is best made by discovering this diversity in its most vivid form--differences from one culture to another. Once tuned in to these differences, a person is more likely to perceive differences on any level (age, region, ethnic group, interests, values, etc.).

As a profession, we have recognized for some time that cultural awareness can result from foreign language study. I shall not attempt to elaborate that point; I merely assert that the societal change of the recent few years makes this learning more important than ever before.

We seem to be neglecting another kind of learning that seems crucial to me in the kind of society we have today: learning about the self. There are, of course, many ways to learn about oneself. One way, an inevitable consequence of living, is the incidental learning that occurs randomly as one moves through day-to-day activity. By virtue of its very definition we educators do not structure or control this learning; yet, I do have an hypothesis that the foreign language classroom is particularly rich in incidental learning. As a personal anecdote, I recall that at some point in my career as a foreign language student I became aware that I was afraid--literally, afraid--to attempt what was to me a "new and funny" sound. Although I did not at the time have the concept "risk-taking," I was clearly unwilling (or unable) to take a risk--the mere risk of not being able to pronounce a word as my teacher did! In this observation of self I saw something I did not like. That awareness led me to overcome gradually my hesitancy to take such risks, even beyond the pronunciation of French.

But foreign language learning can provide more than incidental learning. The new language itself can become a vehicle for discovering what a person is and how this is both similar to and different from other persons, other students in the class. Clearly, one way for us to increase our insights into our own unique natures is by making comparisons and contrasts between ourselves and others. By expressing what we think or feel about any topic or idea whatsoever and by hearing others express what they think or feel, we inevitably learn what we are and what others are.

One component or aspect of our identities is the composite of our perceptions about "everything." I am a product of my experiences, and as a human being I can symbolize these experiences in words--words of my native language or, as I learn them, words of a new language. I can share thoughts that have been my very own possessions to the benefit of others. To incorporate this sharing into our classrooms we must only develop the methods or techniques by which this sharing can occur when one has limited language skill--when one is a learner who is practicing.

In this sharing of ideas one can learn to value differences among people. Happily, our classes today are more heterogeneous than ever before. If the classroom climate is one of acceptance, openness, and interest in others, I believe the inevitable result is a more positive attitude toward differences--an attitude that seems in harmony with the self-expression that has become a part of today's society. In an era that says do your own thing--fulfill yourself in any legitimate way you choose--there is a critical need to know yourself, to know what you are and what you can become. Valuing diversity is also a valuing of one's self, one's autonomy, one's "personness." It is accepting what one is or what one can be; it is accepting the work of nature rather than arguing with nature for not having constructed things in a different pattern. It is building through experiences the self that one seeks. It is the echo of the song lyrics "I've got to be me; I can't be right for anyone else if I'm not right for me."

My impression is that a great number of psychologists believe that the self-concept is at the very core of one's mental well-being. We all form perceptions of ourselves. Each of us forms an image on the basis of our experience. If the experience includes the satisfaction of successfully sharing thoughts in a new language, the self-concept can only be enhanced. I see no reason whatsoever why our classrooms cannot help each student to be aware of himself, to accept himself, to accept his fellow man, and in return to experience the acceptance of himself by his fellow man. Each student in this way becomes more secure in himself when surrounded by differences.

A Methodology for Pluralism

I cannot count the number of times over the years that I have observed classes and heard students make utterances in the foreign language like "I don't like green beans." But I seldom knew whether or not the students did or did not like green beans. Usually, they were just making the sounds of the words because the drill or exercise required them to make those sounds. Sometimes it looked realistic but was only a question-answer drill where each student was to answer the question negatively. It was only a semblance of communication with no learning about people.

Some would immediately interject that whether or not a person likes green beans is trivial or unimportant to them. We must, of course, acknowledge that whether or not a person likes green beans is not the essence of any individual. Nevertheless, that one particle contributes to the make-up of a unique personality--just as the person's physical body is made up of millions of individual cells. Although I hesitate to be negative in tone, I must admit to a very negative bias toward teachers who are not interested in student thoughts--even about small items like food preferences. Such self-centered teachers invariably communicate their attitudes to their students--usually by revealing in a dozen different ways that they are not listening. And when a student sees that his teacher is not interested in what he says, there is great danger he may conclude that his ideas are uninteresting, invalid, or not worth sharing.

The content of the foreign language class is not restricted to a body of knowledge; it is restricted only by the language competence of the students. The content can be anything. Do you have a belief about whether or not there are living beings on another planet somewhere? Did you always feel this way? This second question has to be answered negatively for all of us. At some point during the course of our lifetimes we had experiences that prompted us to form beliefs. Again, whether or not a person thinks other planets are inhabited is not a critical dimension of his personality, but it is another particle of what he is. Why not give students in our classes the opportunity to formulate such beliefs or ideas, to examine their existing ideas, and to compare these ideas to those of other students? Why not take the vocabulary and structures that can be used early in the first year of instruction, put them into a statement that other planets are inhabited, and ask students to agree or disagree with it. They can practice the same language forms as they do in the drills that seem to dominate so many classrooms, but they will learn more about themselves and each other. Do you think it is more important to preserve great works of art or to attempt to save timber wolves? Only when someone prompts you to examine your priorities do you know. Forced-choice, either-or statements, can be used very early in most foreign language programs. Together with thousands or millions of other little particles I (or you) become a composite, a self, a somebody I should know . . . and should like.

The methodology required is therefore not exotically different from many common techniques. Obviously, more and more textbooks will soon incorporate ideas and arrangements that will facilitate this kind of language practice and will lead students to see as a normal part of their foreign language classroom activity the exchanging of ideas: "I'll tell you what I think; you tell me what you think."

In the meantime, we can increase the sharing or communicating of ideas in many ways. In a sense, every time a student sends or receives meaning (in any of the four language skills) we come closer to my goal. Another way of looking at the matter is in terms of the locus of acceptable student responses. Is the student expected to find a correct answer outside himself, or is he given the opportunity to formulate an answer within himself? Question-and-answer practice therefore contributes to the goal when the questions elicit student perceptions about anything in the universe, but not when they ask for factual information in a passage that the students have read. Statements that students are to agree or disagree with generate much more self-reflection than do factual true-false statements. Ranking items according to a particular dimension is a vivid lesson in individual differences and requires very little language background. Sentence-builders, where students select items from each of several columns to create a sentence that expresses their ideas or sentiments, provide genuine expressions of their identities with minimal language demands. Simulations where the student operates as if he were in a particular situation (e.g. you are a desk clerk in a hotel; you are shopping in a French market; you are a Grand Prix race-car driver) can contribute a great deal. They are ironically similar in appearance to the dialogue memorization procedures that many have called "role-playing." Simulation, as used here, refers to the student's retaining his own identity while in the various situations--which may be selected from either target cultures or native culture. The student is not asked to parrot the words of a nonentity named Pierre or Pedro.

The list of mechanisms or techniques could be extended, but it is probably of less importance than is the development of positive attitudes toward using the foreign language for self-expression at the earliest possible level. We tell our students that one of our objectives is that they be able to communicate. We promise them that if they do all we ask, they will someday be able to use the language in real communication. In too many classrooms all the activity is preparation for communication but never participation in it. We begin to sound like the many people who talk about retirement as the time when the "good life" will begin; they overlook the facts of attrition and the inappropriateness of a lifetime of reading travel brochures as preparation for actual travel. Our students too have to be able to "stop and smell the roses" during instruction. Fortunately, exchange of ideas in the foreign language has a highly desirable byproduct: it is pleasant, it is satisfying, and it fosters positive attitudes toward the entire experience. Self-concepts are not diminished; they are enhanced.

There does exist, however, a similar-appearing collection of techniques that is not pleasant for all students. Each time I discuss communication in the classroom I feel an obligation to emphasize that I am not endorsing the techniques that are frequently subsumed under labels like affective education, humanistic education, or values clarification. I continue to see those movements as indiscriminate collections of both useful techniques that do indeed accomplish desirable goals and ruthless techniques that are totally inappropriate for any classroom. If, for example, I were enrolled in a class where I was asked how I would feel about religion on the day I was told that I had cancer, I would become an immediate dropout statistic. In the continuing absence of any trustworthy research data, my intuitions make me uncomfortable with this approach--called by a colleague of mine "emotional strip poker."

Conclusion

If we take advantage of the Bicentennial pageantry to ask ourselves where we are as a society and how foreign language learning fits into this society, I am convinced that these 200 years have brought us to the brink of a newly important benefit from what we do in our classrooms. Let us acknowledge, first of all, that we live in an extraordinarily complex world. Its complexity is greater than any mind can comprehend. To think therefore that we are going to have widespread impact upon the course of the world would be little short of undiluted arrogance. But lives are lived moment by moment, and if we can touch a few thousand lives each year--helping each one to interact more salutarily with his environment--we are in fact shaping a world that is a little bit closer to the profound humanistic goals in which we all believe. We are in a unique position in 1976, for we have evolved from a society that valued sameness in people in all possible subtle ways to one that is beginning to see diversity as beautiful and valuable. In such a society, which says to each individual, "Be yourself, develop your uniqueness," the individual must learn what he is, what his potential is, and he must be secure in himself. A foreign language class can contribute in a very special way to this learning. The student learns about differences by seeing them in their most vivid form . . . differences between different cultures. But just as importantly he can use that new language to compare himself to everyone else in his class, to come to understand better how he is similar and how he is different. He can form a composite of what he is by expressing his ideas--ideas he might not otherwise have examined. He can become more aware of himself as a unique person.

It would seem that future efforts in this direction do meet the admonition of many futurists who caution that we must go beyond viewing a "good future" as a present with its problems solved. And at the same time it may be that this direction is very much a part of those unalienable rights stated two hundred years ago: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

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[1] Elwood P. Cubberley, Public Education in the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919; rpt. 1947) pp. 484-86.

[2] E. J. Kahn, Jr., The American People (New York: Weybright & Talley, 1974), p. 4.

[3] John A. Carpenter & Judith V. Torney, "Overview: Beyond the Melting Pot to Cultural Pluralism," Children and Intercultural Education, ed. Patricia M. Markum. (Washington, D. C.: Association for Childhood Education, 1974), pp. 14-24.

[4] Israel Zangwill, "The Melting Pot" (1909) as quoted in Oscar Handlin, Immigration as a Factor in American History (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1959). Also cited in Seymour W. Itzkoff, Cultural Pluralism and American Education (Scranton, PA: International Textbook Co., 1969), p. 51.

[5] Cited in Maria M. Swanson, "Bilingual Education: The National Perspective," ACTFL Review of Foreign Language Education, ed. Gilbert A. Jarvis (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1974), V, 91.

[6] John A. Carpenter & Judith V. Torney, op. cit., p. 16.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Madelon D. Stent, William R. Hazard, & Harry Rivlin, Cultural Pluralism in Education: A Mandate for Change (New York: Appleton-Century, 1973).

[9] Edwin O. Reischauer, Toward the 21st Century: Education for a Changing World (New York: Knopf, 1973), p. 4.

PNCFL 1976 PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BACK TO THE BASICS

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> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights . . . --Declaration of Independence

The word equality in the Declaration of Independence does not describe a person's physical or intellectual nature, for as educators know all too well, all men have not been created equal in the physical and intellectual sense of the word. Our students have not shown themselves to be equal in honesty, kindness, common sense, or in the understanding of language and culture. This reference to equality in the Declaration of Independence must be much more a mandate of policy concerning the treatment of persons. Sidney Hook maintains that equality "is not a prescription to treat in identical ways men who are unequal in their physical or intellectual nature. It is a policy of equality of concern or consideration for men whose different needs may require differential treatment." Thus the principle of equality ". . . is not a policy of restricting the freedom of being different or becoming different." To the contrary, it is ". . . a policy of encouraging the freedom to be different."[1]

Many in education emphasize that the American educational system today should be redirected from its historical role as the "melting pot." We hear that we need to move in the direction of a "cultural democracy" in our philosophy of education. Manual Ramirez, for example, states: "In the final analysis, the crucial difference between the melting pot and cultural democracy philosophies of education comes down to this: the melting pot philosophy emphasizes that the child must change to fit the educational system; the cultural democracy philosophy . . . states that the institution must change to fit the child."[2]

The general theme for the 1976 PNCFL is "Cultural Pluralism as the North American Heritage." In its broadest interpretation this concept of "pluralism" calls for the toleration of individual idiosyncrasies and divergent behavior patterns. Howard Nostrand defines cultural pluralism as "the sense of accepting all the diversity of language and customs, as well as of religion and skin color, that does not harm the essential commonality of national life."[3]

We must all learn to recognize the characteristics of other groups as normal and valid. This acceptance of other ways of life has been an aim of foreign language educators for years. One state curriculum guide for all foreign languages has the goal "to evaluate the foreign culture objectively and on its own merits rather than from the standpoint of Anglo-American culture."[4] We recognize that many of our current problems can only be solved on a global scale. For this there must be a high degree of understanding and a great capacity for cooperation between disparate peoples and nations. Foreign language learning will be important for there is no better way of making a person conscious of that which lies outside his or her own culture than to learn a foreign language. An "education for pluralism" within the foreign language class sets the stage for making independent, individual choices based solely upon the examination of evidence.[5] The goal is to get the students to the point where they can make value judgments completely on their own, regardless of whether these judgments conform to the beliefs of the teacher, the community, or any outside group or person.

Yet let us be clear that what we are trying to do is risky, particularly for those of us who are of the opinion that all values are not relative. If a student has seriously engaged in cross-cultural learning, he will more than likely not be the same person when he has finished as when he began. Some may even have lost their national and philosophical roots but most, while no longer completely of their own culture, will not be wholly of the foreign culture either. Irwin Abrams, paraphrasing Karl Marx, says of our students who immerse themselves in a foreign culture: "But if they had nothing to lose but their cultural chains, they have a world to win."[6]

Harold Howe II, a former U.S. Commissioner of Education, sees a clear relationship between American monocultural attitudes and some of our current domestic problems: "The entire history of discrimination is based on the prejudice that because someone else is different, he is somehow worse. If we could teach all our children--black, white, brown, yellow and all the American shades in between--that diversity is not to be feared or suspected, but enjoyed and valued, we would be well on the way toward achieving the equality we have always proclaimed as a national characteristic."[7]

Although we are indeed making progress in this area, in many situations the long haired bearded ones, or those whose first language is Spanish, or blacks or Indians, are still much more restricted in their opportunities than short-haired, cleanly shaven, English-speaking, Anglo-Americans with comparable abilities.[8] This kind of discrimination and oppression have no place in our value system. Minority persons must be able to participate fully in our institutions. And certainly we educators cannot complain about a boy's dress code one day and expect him to be receptive to a discussion of the value of diversity the next.

Along with this interpretation of pluralism in America as a unity in diversity, we can also illustrate pluralism in the multiple interests and abilities of our learners. In the past many considered that the function of education was to smooth out the differences between individuals and make a common product of every student. Now differences are being acknowledged and described and instructional activities must accommodate the needs and interests of the individual.

Jane Bourque counsels us to "Love thy student as thy language."[9] How can we best accomplish this? First and foremost, we can be more interested in students as persons than in their ideas, their party labels, their ability (or lack of it) to conjugate the verb "to be" in the target language. Paul Tournier writes that "It is much more interesting, as well as important, to understand why someone has a certain failing than to be irritated by it; to understand why he maintains a certain point of view than to combat it; to listen to confidences than to judge by appearances."[10] Certainly both Bourque and Tournier are right. We should not be so absorbed in our subjects that we forget all about the persons to whom we wish to transmit our information. Loving our students does not mean plunging into religious or philosophical theories about God, man, and the universe. It means listening to them and then telling them of our own personal lives, our difficulties and problems. If we answer with advice or theories, we are placing ourselves in the position of superiority, not equality.

Apparently teachers pay more attention to the better, more articulate student, thereby widening the already present gap in student achievement. It is wrong to compare what one student might be with what another might be and then to make a value judgment. They are all unique individuals with certain capabilities as well as limitations and they are all O.K.! Our job is to help them become faithful to their potential, whatever that may be.

Furthermore, we need to help our students overcome the feelings of inferiority and inadequacy which they often have. An important starting point which we can endorse at the outset is the concept "I'm O.K.--You're O.K." This is the only healthy attitude to carry through one's lifetime. If Thomas Harris is right, and I think he is, this attitude of "I'm O.K.--You're O.K." is a decision we must make. It is naive to think that it is the natural way man will view himself and his neighbor.[11]

Let's take a good hard look at our students, to learn what they value, how they think. One way to discover students' needs and aspirations is simply to ask them. Professor Nostrand recommends that the teacher spend part of a first class hour asking each participant what is desired from the course and then explore how one could incorporate the various emphases.[12] Gladys Lipton recommends that we ask three questions periodically to learn more about the student's point of view: 1) what do you like most about this class?; 2) what don't you like about this class?; and 3) if you were the teacher, how would you teach the class.[13]

Let's discover their needs and modify our goals, and not become frustrated because we cannot teach our students all we know in the brief time we have for the course. Maybe we ought even to be thankful that it isn't possible to teach all that we know in these short courses.

Toffler doubts that today's curriculum "makes sense." To make his points he invites the reader ". . . to explain to an intelligent fourteen-year-old why algebra or French or any other subject is essential for him." Is the present curriculum "a mindless holdover from the past" as he suggests?[14] H. Ned Seelye has shocked us at last into a critical selection of course material by asking his Great Bellybutton Question--Whether a given population's navels predominantly point in or out?[15]--definitely a researchable, quantificable question--but who cares?

Certainly much in our foreign language texts is unrelated and even largely unrelatable to the interests and needs of a broad base of our students. Many of the previous degree requirements have been dropped and language study is now largely a "free market" commodity, subject to the laws of supply and demand. We must design courses and provide learning experiences which will be interpreted by students as worthy of their time and effort. As in any market, our survival will depend on the quality of our product and our ability to interpret the demand.[16]

The profession seems to move from fad to fad. Change does seem to be the norm of the day. Students now in school will have many jobs in a variety of fields, some of which have not yet come into existence. Change will not end with the current emphasis on individualizing instruction or some modification of it. Another "ism" will replace it and form another orthodoxy. We will want to encourage the transfer of learning from one context to another and help the student to transfer what he has learned to new situations. The process of acquiring knowledge will always be more important than any specific curricular interest. According to Erich Fromm: "The central task of education is to implant a will and facility for learning, it should produce not learned but learning people. The truly human society is a learning society, where grandparents, parents, and children are students together. In a time of drastic change it is the learners who inherit the future. The learned usually find themselves equipped to live in a world that no longer exists."[17]

Both Gilbert Jarvis and Wilga Rivers have discussed the effects of "future shock" on our students and have pointed to the relevance of foreign language education. Jarvis sees learning to cope with the unfamiliar as a direct result of foreign language study and thus as ideal training for dealing with an uncertain and fast moving future.[18]

I question whether we spend enough time in our classes on the need to be able to cope with failure. Why is it that when we hear about the great achievements of successful people in business or sports, we are seldom made aware of their failures. One example: we have all read of Babe Ruth's amazing record of 714 home runs, but another of the Babe's world records is buried in the record books--Babe Ruth struck out 1,330 times, more than any other player in history. No one wins them all.[19] A part of the "process of acquiring knowledge," and "learning to cope with the unfamiliar" is the need to learn that loneliness or at least drudgery is a necessary component of success.

Bill Russell, coach of the Seattle Supersonics basketball team, has this to say about the caliber of basketball players today: "The players now are physically better players, much more mobile, better shooters, jump higher, quicker, but I don't think they're as tough . . . mentally. . . . The principal area where the game is hurting is that you have more guys who aren't as mentally tough. . . . I think mental toughness is the key to being a professional athlete."[20] Perhaps we and our students involved in the great game of life are gifted enough, but too often found wanting in what Russell calls "mental toughness." Commitment, will, drive, the ability to endure loneliness and drudgery: let us not forget to make our students aware of these ingredients necessary for the realization of their talents and the implementation of their goals.

The modern world produces professionals who specialize in particular areas of thought and thereby add to the sum of knowledge within their limited subject areas. Progress is made, of that there is no doubt, but it is "progress in its own groove." The dangers which arise from this kind of progress alone are great, particularly for a democratic society. In short, the specialized societal functions are performed adequately, but the general direction lacks vision. Whitehead has said: "Wisdom is the fruit of a balanced development. It is this balanced growth of individuality which it should be the aim of education to secure."[21]

In the classroom our students discuss and express numerous philosophies of life which explain the essence of reality and man's duties toward himself and his fellow men. Only rarely are these philosophies and ideas more than verbal playthings. Words can be, and I am afraid too often are, all too cheap. Our age has in large part lost *any* philosophy which attracts and holds enthusiastic, devoted disciples who attempt to pattern their lives after it and pass it on to their children and their neighbors.

The American dream of self-government in freedom under God remains the most hopeful of all the political systems. Yet freedom is only a part of the whole story. We will want to live out freedom in terms of responsibleness. I like Victor Frankl's suggestion that we supplement the Statue of Liberty on the East Coast with a Statue of Responsibility on the West Coast.[22] For significant survival America needs to concentrate on some of the things the Declaration of Independence omits. Perhaps, as the Managing Editor of *Time* magazine, Henry Grunwald, has suggested, we need to insert something like the following: ". . . that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inescapable *duties*, and that among those duties are work, learning, and the pursuit of responsibility."[23] Our attitude toward work will determine the kind of life which we deserve and a willingness to learn, keeping an open mind to the old as well as the new, is necessary to free us from various forms of slavery and keep freedom real. Finally, I would hope that a sense of responsibility and willingness to perform certain duties will guarantee our rights.

Notes

[1] Sidney Hook, *Political Power and Personal Freedom* (New York: Criterion Books, 1959), pp. 38-39.

[2] Cited in Frank M. Grittner, "Pluralism in Foreign Language Education," *Pluralism in Foreign Language Education*, ed. Dale L. Lange (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1973), p. 12.

[3] Howard L. Nostrand, "Empathy for a Second Culture: Motivations and Techniques," *Responding to New Realities*, ed. Gilbert A. Jarvis (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1974), p. 272.

[4] Frank M. Grittner, *Teaching Foreign Languages* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 83.

[5] Grittner, "Pluralism in Foreign Language Education," p. 51.

[6] Irwin Abrams, "Why Study Abroad?" *Occasional Papers on Undergraduate Study Abroad* (New York: Council on Student Travel, n.d.), p. 4.

[7] Cited in Grittner, "Pluralism in Foreign Language Education," p. 16.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[9] Cited in Thomas J. Ackermann, "Teacher Attitude, Aptitude, and Motivation," *Foreign Language Education: A Reappraisal*, ed. Dale L. Lange (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1972), p. 36.

[10] Paul Tournier, *The Meaning of Persons* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), p. 188.

[11] Thomas A. Harris, *I'm O.K.--You're O.K.* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969).

[12] Nostrand, p. 266.

[13] Cited in Wahneta M. Mullen, "Many Learners, Many Goals, Many Curricula," *Responding to New Realities*, ed. Gilbert A. Jarvis (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1974), p. 42.

[14] Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Bantam, 1970), p. 410.

[15] Cited in Nostrand, p. 265.

[16] Stephen L. Levy, "The Realities Facing the Profession," *Responding to New Realities*, ed. Gilbert A. Jarvis (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1974), p. 19.

[17] Erich Fromm, *Reflections on the Human Condition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), no. 32.

[18] Cited in Jane N. Lippmann, "Rationale for Language Study," *The Challenge of Communication*, ed. Gilbert A. Jarvis (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1974), p. 49.

[19] Frank Bettger, "Don't Be Afraid to Fail," *Success Unlimited* (April 1972), p. 27.

[20] Bill Russell, "Take a Shot!" *The Seattle Times*, 4 January 1976.

[21] Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), pp. 282-84.

[22] Victor H. Frankl, *Man's Search for Meaning: An Introduction to Logotherapy* (New York: Pocket Books, 1963), pp. 209-10.

[23] Henry Grunwald, "The Morning After the Fourth: Have We Kept Our Promise?" *Time*. 14 July 1975, pp. 19-20.

DE NUPTIIS HUMANITATIS ET LINGUARUM: BLISS IN THE INTERDISCIPLINARY MODE

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In observance of rhetorical tradition, these remarks also begin with a bit of bracing self-flagellation, a brief analysis of the seclusion of foreign languages within the humanities. But they actually offer a more normal sort of stimulation: an analysis of the term "humanities" to establish an ideological basis for the renewed alliance of foreign languages with the humanities, and a description of the fruits of such a union, an interdepartmental venture in modern European cultural history.[1]

The crisis of survival in foreign languages is customarily cast in terms of decreasing enrollments and disinherited language requirements. But the isolation of foreign languages in the academic community may conceal an equally troublesome hazard.[2] Many of our colleagues do not know what we can offer in the way of intellectual direction, what we are trained to teach, or even the significance of our tasks. I recently overheard a fellow humanist refer to the staff in English as the "Literature Department." From perusing the computer course listings he is well aware that the Department of Foreign Languages also offers courses in literature. Nevertheless, his subliminal conviction is clearly that English instructors are more suited to the task. In a discussion with a colleague of this selfsame "Literature Department" I was also chagrined to learn that knowledge about the nature of language was trivial; only literature could be humanistically important. These examples document vividly a ruinous sort of progression: unfamiliarity breeds contempt.

Other factors contribute to isolation, of course. Those of us in foreign languages seldom leap to the helm with ideological or political leadership for the humanities. Moreover, diminished enrollments and diluted requirements have cut us out of prime time in the classroom. Even if endowed with a superabundance of charisma, I with my German 101 section of twelve cannot hope to challenge the biology professor who breaks loaves and distributes fishes among the five thousand who take his introductory course for a general requirement.

The underlying causes of isolation, like the Gerasenian demons, may be legion, and it would be risky to exorcise all of them here. Nevertheless, I think I have found at least one worth the effort to purge. Has not an audio-lingual philosophy which posits training in language skills as the *summum bonum* simply exempted foreign languages from the perennial debate concerning humanistic knowledge and objectives? The reforms of the past fifteen years to improve technical language training were certainly welcome. In the meantime, however, single-minded cultivation of the four skills has caused the humanities garden to go to seed. Nor do we any longer possess the philosophical bent-of-mind needed to engage our colleagues in "second intensional" discussion.[3] In what follows it is not my intention to belabor you with abstractions but simply to tender an example of the conceptualization necessary for productive deliberation on the humanities intra- and extradepartmentally. The journey back to respectibility, visibility, and greater productivity must begin with a conceptual retread.

It is axiomatic for me that liberal education consists in cultivating attitudes, habits of thought, modes of awareness, skills of analysis and application, not primarily in transmitting factual information.[4] This conviction lies at the heart of R. S. Crane's "Idea of the Humanities." The second century notion of *humanitas* as "education and training in the good arts" leads to a "view that identifies the humanities, not with certain *subjects* of study merely, or with the pursuit of certain abstract *ends*, but with the proper cultivation of certain *arts* or *disciplines*, that is, of certain means . . . ." The humanistic character of these arts or disciplines is found to lie in their capacity "to deal with peculiarly human achievements, the kinds of things which, "because not all men or all groups of men can, or do, do them, are therefore not amenable to adequate explanation in terms of general laws of natural processes . . . or in terms of collective social conditions or forces."[5]

Crane assigns the techniques which have historically served to isolate and analyse human achievements to four principal groups or modes of intellectual awareness. 1) The arts of language (linguistics) comprise the "many and varied techniques we have for dealing with the symbolic media." 2) The arts of analysis and appreciation of ideas treat "the conceptions and reasons, of all kinds, which men have expressed either in the elaborate forms of philosophic, scientific, and religious systems or more informally in works of literature and fine art." 3) The arts of literary and artistic criticism embrace "the numerous devices at our disposal for grasping and appreciating the esthetic structures which men have made." 4) The historiographic arts "give us knowledge and understanding of the particular historical situations and causes in the midst of which the objects of humanistic study have emerged."[6]

This elegant structure of the humanities exposes the inadequacy of some popular notions. No one department, for example, can restrict itself to or have sole authority over one humanistic discipline. The subject matter in philosophy may be studied primarily through analysis of ideas, but historiographic perspectives and linguistic arts perform an indispensable function as well. Similarly, the subject matter of literature is not a "humanity." The humanities are rather the four groups of arts outlined above.

If we regard our responsibility to the humanities to consist principally in education in the four groups of arts and not solely in the transmission of factual information, then the relationship of the foreign languages to the humanities and the practical consequences for the curriculum become clearer. First, of all the academic units that treat humanistic knowledge and technique, foreign languages are in theory the most interdisciplinary.[7] Courses in language, literature, and culture involve, among other perspectives, each of the four humanistic disciplines.[8] Second, most of us are not equipped by training to do justice to each of the disciplines. Our courses suffer as a result from superficiality, particularly in the area of culture. Third, it seems to me that in beginning language courses, the humanistic (linguistic) dimensions could be developed to a greater extent. Fourth, "masterpiece" literature surveys could be abandoned--they seldom treat either the history of literature or the individual work adequately--in favor of courses of varying format which illuminate the literary texts from several humanistic vantage points. Fifth, a complete overhaul of the culture and civilization offerings to incorporate a healthy dose of each of the humanistic disciplines would increase their intellectual substance impressively.[9]

If lacking in detail, this five point excursus nevertheless demonstrates the ease with which practical aims for the foreign language curriculum can be derived from a carefully defined ideological basis. This view of the humanities also proves useful in designing an interdepartmental program.

A wealth of courses both interdisciplinary and interdepartmental is possible.[10] The example below, a course in twentieth century Europe organized around the theme of human responsibility, is therefore not representative in approach or content. The principles of design, on the other hand, can make that claim and may even show slight originality. It is important to know that this course is part of a larger effort of the humanities departments at my university to devise an interdepartmental program as an alternate core or general requirements curriculum. Representatives from the natural and social sciences also participate in planning and teaching, although the main impetus has come from the humanities and the program is partly funded by a planning grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.[11] This course is the second half of a two-course, twelve-credit sequence. The initial offering, taught last semester by instructors in biology, sociology, and philosophy, dealt with problems of genetic determination and control, cultural evolution, and psychological and moral development of the child, and the relation of social roles and inheritance to personal freedom. The course described here is being taught this semester (Spring, 1976). It is interdisciplinary in bringing humanistic and social science points-of-view into play and interdepartmental, with instructors (two) from History and Foreign Languages.

The purpose of the course, broadly stated, is to examine special problems of human responsibility in a specific historical context, that of Western Europe from 1848-1945.[12] The foreign languages contribute via literature and cultural history. (See the outline of course topics in Appendix I.) Two major factors determine the choice of topics, materials, and mode of treatment. First, since the students enrolled are underclassmen, for the most part non-humanities majors, the course must serve as an introduction to the humanities. Second, the four humanistic disciplines must all be introduced.

The course differs from a history of Western civilization in several respects. No attempt is made to present a balanced sweep of modern European history. Political and economic concerns receive less attention than social and cultural forces. The course pivots on an extra-historical ethical theme: the theme imparts continuity, not a narrative of causal or chronological progression.[13] Historical topics could therefore be selected which not only illustrate important issues of responsibility but also fire student interest.

The outline (Appendix I) presents anything but an eclectic assortment of fashionable topics, neither historical nor literary. There is an overarching rationale of causality, not so much in terms of events as of ideas. For example, modern technology which, it was hoped, would increase personal freedom through proliferation of cheap goods only increased the social trauma of the working masses. Stephenson's steam locomotive carried a generation to the trenches in 1914. Social-Darwinists made assumptions about the survival of the fittest figure in the public consciousness of 1914 and in Hitler's racial policy. The searing experience of the trenches in World War I catalysed the social ferment and cultural experimentation which in turn eased the way for the stability of a dictatorship with an even more advanced technology of destruction. These old attitudes toward technology and social progress, resting on positivistic, deterministic substrata, still characterize modern experience, even though our students have but an unclear, uneasy perception of the origins and the disillusioning events to which they contributed. While not denying the value of studying history (or literature) for its own sake, I am convinced that the humanities serve beginning students best if they are used together to illuminate pertinent issues in a way that offers some immediate intellectual relief.

The approach incorporates intellectual rigor. Each of the topics is pursued in some depth. (See Appendix II, a sample unit outline.) The students read few general historical texts--historical overview is provided in lecture--but instead confront primary sources. Among these are selections from Comte, Spencer, and Darwin, excerpts from the autobiographical writings of workers, the Communist Manifesto (in the splendid thirty-five cent Peking edition), selections from Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, and Nazi documents related to Jewish policy. Reading assignments are accompanied by handout questions which guide the students to careful reading and later serve as the basis for discussion or short essays.[14]

Except for Zola's Germinal, the literary texts are short, chosen for their value as primary source material in cultural history. Among these are H. G. Wells, The Time Machine, Conan Doyle, Hound of the

Baskervilles, Robert Graves, *Good-bye to All That*, Bertolt Brecht, *Drums in the Night*, Elie Wiesel, *Night*, Arthur Miller, *Incident at Vichy*. This is no canon of modern masterpieces; but then neither do we offer a course in literary criticism for which texts of artistic pretension would be obligatory. Our motives are more modest: we intend to demonstrate how the reader, like the great detective of Baker Street 221B, can train his powers of observation to discern clues as to style, artistic message and unity. We want to whet the appetite for reading, not drive students to mental stupor.

Historiography, literary criticism, and analysis of ideas are all visible in the fabric of the course. But the non-linguistic subject prevents equal treatment of the language arts.[15] The course syllabus, however, contains a facing page arrangement for the short readings with a foreign language original. The German Expressionist poetry is also read aloud in German. For the longer sources in a foreign language the first several pages of the texts are included in the original. We hope to demonstrate in this fashion the advantage of being able to study the texts in the original language.

Introduction to humanistic study inevitably throws both instructors and students into despair concerning the fundamental skills of reading and writing. We set as an objective of the first order the weaning of students away from the ubiquitous florescent breast to these more active, critical forms of nourishment. This practice has several implications for the methods. To abruptly deny students access to visual media while requiring the reading of numerous difficult works might cause unpleasant withdrawal symptoms. Our strategy was to soften the impact of the close reading of historical and literary sources with a selection of illustrative slides and films. Rather than assign long papers, we preferred to chip away at writing problems with frequent short essays on the readings. This approach has several advantages: 1) written assignments spread over the entire semester permit regular criticism and steady improvement; 2) short essays do not create debilitating pressures; 3) short essays can be composed more carefully and scrutinized more thoroughly by the instructors.

If time permitted it would be useful to review certain criticisms of "interdisciplinary" courses: that they confuse "flashiness" with substance; that they are concerned with generalization, offering the students yet another escape from the "detail and procedure" stage of learning; that they deter students from integrating the various disciplines on their own;[16] that "mix-teach" courses are deficient in method and training in skills.[17] The rebuttal to several of these objections is already inherent in the course description. Such a course quite obviously cannot substitute for more advanced work in the individual humanistic disciplines. Its purpose is to present beginning students with a vision of how the humanistic perspectives and tools can be applied jointly to understand pertinent historical/philosophical problems. It is probably more rigorous than other non-interdepartmental introductory courses.

In the first part of Martianus Capella's fifth century *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, Philology, accompanied by her handmaidens the seven Liberal Arts, ascends to heaven to be married to Mercury, the god of eloquence. This allegorical image provides a graceful summary. Please permit a concluding, less elegant gloss. Many instructional tasks in foreign languages, by nature humanistic and interdisciplinary, have been made subordinate to technical objectives. As a consequence, we have suffered a loss of eloquence. Participation in the interdepartmental development and teaching of general humanities courses encourages renewed articulation of humanistic, interdisciplinary objectives. This facilitates the internal task of laying the ideological foundation necessary for defining goals for the foreign language curriculum. Extra-departmentally, a new opportunity for sharing the responsibility for liberal education is created. We rise from obscurity in the academic community, receive greater exposure to students, exploit dormant interests and expertise. *Nuptiae humanitatis et linguarum* is truly a marriage made in heaven!

Notes

[1] Although the context for this project is a four-year liberal arts college, much of what follows should also apply to other educational settings.

[2] At the last MLA convention (General Section for Germanics, San Francisco, Dec. 28, 1975) both Jeffrey Sammons and David Bathrick discussed the isolation of American *Germanistik* in the national academic community. Prof. Sammons' paper will appear as "Some Considerations on our Invisibility" in the forthcoming collection *German Studies in America: Assessment and Outlook*, ed. F. W. Lohnes and V. Nollendorfs (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, Summer, 1976). It is true that the foreign language profession in general does not make much of a splash in American intellectual life. My purpose here is to show how that might be rectified at the college or university level.

[3] This commentary should not be construed as an attack on the audio-lingual approach, which I would defend. I suspect that foreign language departments may not have been any more visible before the audio-lingual era. The point is that the situation has not improved; we have not become better epistemologists or more articulate apologists.

"A degree of talk in the second intension is what separates the sheep from the goats, a great university from a merely good one. For thought in the second intension is thought about what and how one is working and how the work can be improved." Joseph J. Schwab, "Backtalk from Abroad," *The University of Chicago Magazine* (March/April 1974), p. 13.

[4] To argue this point would require an additional volume. See, however, Daniel Bell, The Reforming of General Education: The Columbia College Experience in its National Setting (New York London: Columbia Univ. Press, 1966), pp. 8, 108, 164-65.

[5] R. S. Crane, "The Idea of the Humanities," in The Idea of the Humanities (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1967), I, 7-8. We are not interested here in worshiping at the shrine of humanistic ideals. A paper of the sort that invokes the values of humanistic study abandoned by the foreign languages is James P. Sandrock's "Languages and the Humanities: Our Roots and Responsibility," ADFL Bulletin, 4 (Dec. 1972), pp. 15-17. I find it easier to derive pedagogical insight from a rigorous description of the humanities, i.e., from a doctrine of the humanities, rather than from humanistic dogma.

[6] Crane, p. 9.

[7] The term discipline is used in Bell's sense: "a group of analytical concepts ordered into a body of theory and applied to a subject matter" (p. 31). Crane would probably substitute "skills" or "methods" for "concepts."

It could be argued with some justification that the humanistic arts are so interwoven that they comprise but one discipline. That they are interdependent is clear. Nevertheless, the perspectives and techniques of the four categories are dissimilar enough to make their distinction convenient. See also Roger Shattuck, "Remarks on Interdisciplinary Programs," ADFL Bulletin, 3 (Sept. 1971), p. 16.

[8] The diversity of approach and method inherent in foreign language instruction may explain in part why the problem of defining goals for each level of the curriculum is so difficult.

[9] Kenneth J. Northcott in his address to this assembly two years ago, "Communication, Culture and the Classroom," suggested a training program for high school teachers that emphasizes culture. Such a program would include a background in the history and geography of the foreign country, knowledge of social attitudes and customs, grounding in the political and religious organization, the social structures and their perspectives, in addition to intellectual and artistic achievements. Reprinted in Second Language Teaching 74: Part Two of the Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the PNCFL, ed. Hector Hammerly (n.p., 1974), pp. 102-04. Few of our culture and civilization courses cover these topics in any satisfactory fashion.

[10] "Interdisciplinary" commonly designates any course with two or more instructors from different departments. Here it is any course involving the techniques of more than one discipline. How many instructors teach it is irrelevant.

[11] Program construction and policy planning have proven exhausting, sometimes exasperating, but immensely rewarding.

[12] The choice of period and area reflects the limitations of the instructors. Almost any area or historical period could serve a theme as pervasive as human responsibility.

[13] Emphasis on perspectives and ideas rather than on a chronological continuum make such a narrative unnecessary.

[14] "Most textbooks deprive the student of the opportunity to exercise just those habits of thought which it is the end of a general education to develop. They present him with highly simplified summaries of results and practically no insight into the methods and processes by which these results were achieved. They seldom communicate to the student any of that passionate sincerity or integrity to be found in the original works. They do not really contain knowledge but are a kind of conventionalized gossip about knowledge which is thought to be sufficient for beginners." Milton B. Sincer, The Idea and Practice of General Education (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 129.

[15] We are currently designing a course on language, number, symbol, and myth to meet this need.

[16] Shattuck, ADFL Bulletin, 3 (Sept. 1971), pp. 13, 15.

[17] Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, "Interdisciplinary Studies: Forms and Limits," ADFL Bulletin, 4 (Sept. 1972), pp. 19-27.

APPENDIX I

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF "TWENTIETH CENTURY EUROPE: THE BURDEN OF HUMAN RESPONSIBILITY"

General Headings	Topics	Issues
I. Setting the Stage for the 20th Century		
A. Economic Framework	Machine, Corporation, Social Classes	The effects of industrialization
B. Ideological Framework	Positivism, Social Darwinism, Marxism	Social determinism; Social evolution
II. World War I		
A. Origins	Documentary study: diplomatic correspondence	Political responsibility
B. Impact	War experience in literature	Individual responsibility vs. duty; destruction of social values
III. The Twenties: Alternatives		
A. Marxist Schism	Russian Revolution; Sparticist movement	Strategy and tactics of social reconstitution
B. Cultural Experiment	Expressionism in literature Blaue Reiter; Bauhaus	Social decadence: the artist's reaction
IV. Dictatorship		
A. Perpetrators	Documentary study: Nazis and bureaucrats	Evolution and responsibility for Nazi racial policy
B. Victims	The concentration camp experience	Human responsibility under sub-human conditions
C. Outside Observer	Vichy	Resistance, collaboration, apathy
V. World War II Eiplogue	Justice and culpability at Nuremberg	War guilt and prosecution

APPENDIX II

A SAMPLE UNIT: WORLD WAR I

Class Period

1. Lecture: "The Eve of War" (Moods in various capitals, underlying reasons).

   Assignment: Begin study of diplomatic documents prior to August, 1914; Short paper due on class 13 (some aspects of Graves, Remarque, poetry).

2. Lecture: "The Diplomatic Background" (Events and personalities).

3. Diplomatic Game I: Caucus by country to discuss documents (students become diplomats, assigned to country).

   Assignment: Short essay summarizing diplomatic position of student's country.

4. Diplomatic Game II: Defense and Indictment (students argue position of their country as seen in documents).

   Assignment: Robert Graves, Good-bye to All That (hand out questions). English war poetry (Owen, Rosenberg, Pound) (questions).

Class Period (cont.)

5. Lecture: "The Course of War, I."

6. Discussion and Analysis: British war poetry; Excerpts from Britten's War Requiem.

7. Discussion: Graves, Good-bye to All That.

   Assignment: German war poetry (Trakl, Stramm, Klemm) (questions); A. J. P. Taylor, From Sarajevo to Potsdam, pp. 7-33.

8. Lecture: Verdun (slides).

   Assignment: Remarque, All Quiet on the Western Front (questions).

9. Discussion and Analysis: German war poetry and contrast with English poetry.

10. Lecture: "The Course of War, II."

11. Discussion: Remarque, All Quiet and contrast with Graves; [Evening Film: All Quiet on Western Front]

12. Musical and Discussion: Oh, What a Lovely War!

13. Short paper due.

GUIDED DESIGN: A POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTION TO FOREIGN LANGUAGE METHODOLOGY

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Guided Design is an educational system devised by Dr. Charles Wales of West Virginia University and Dr. Robert Stager of the Faculty of Applied Science, University of Windsor, Ontario, for use in engineering courses at West Virginia University. The approach has proved so satisfactory, however, that it has been extended to other disciplines within the university with notable success. Included are such diverse areas as drama history, counseling and guidance, special education, nursing, wildlife management, and a multidisciplinary course called *The Nature of Evidence*, which compares the techniques of gathering evidence and making decisions employed by professionals representing the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities.

Developed in 1969, the concept of Guided Design has spread far beyond the confines of West Virginia University. It has generated over sixty projects in various disciplines throughout the nation's colleges and universities.

The system's potential for success has caused its incorporation into the Exxon Education Foundation's Impact Program, the purpose of which is to provide funding to implement promising educational innovations. Although no fewer than twenth-three such projects are currently enjoying Exxon's sponsorship, to date no course in foreign languages is being funded from this source. My intention is, however, by means of this brief exposition, to provide some information about Guided Design and its possible applicability to the foreign-language curriculum in order to arouse the interest of those who may be exploring innovative programs and who could effectively utilize financial support for their projects.[1]

Guided Design's record of success derives largely from the adroit combination of two educational innovations that have achieved wide acceptance, viz. programmed instruction and open-ended problem-solving. Each unit revolves around an open-ended problem which students, working cooperatively in groups, attempt to solve through a carefully planned sequence of logical steps. The acquisition of knowledge, while continuing to occupy a crucial position in the program, becomes not a goal in itself, but one of many steps in the solution of a series of subordinate problems which lead ultimately to the solution of the major open-ended problem. The student educated through such a system, who sees the reason for acquiring the information and technical expertise which the curriculum demands of him, can be said to have received the type of superior intellectual formation whose excellence Montaigne demonstrated so long ago but which has eluded many foreign language educators over the years. The ideal of *une tête bien faite* in preference to *une tête bien pleine* should be an attainable goal for foreign language teachers.

But superior intellectual training is not the only concern of Guided Design. The system has also the advantage of providing a closer approximation to the crucial problems in life, which more frequently than not seem to be of the open-ended sort. Moreover, the give-and-take of group work, with its emphasis on cooperation and exchange of opinion and information, also approximates the reality of employment situations and thereby provides valuable preparation for life.

The presentation of the problems which comprise a course oriented to Guided Design occurs in a carefully planned sequence. Each problem must be dealt with adequately and at its proper point in the hierarchy of steps leading to the solution of the major problem under consideration. A student may not skip a step and will not be provided with the instructor's prepared answers in the form of a feedback until he can demonstrate that he has dealt adequately with that step.

While the students are individually responsible for their own progress, they are also responsible for their contribution to the efforts of their group. Classes are divided into groups of four to seven students. The members of each group must agree on their response to each step of problems which require consensus. As the students perceive the need for special information and skills in solving aspects of a problem they will have at their command a variety of prepared materials which parallel the content of the conventional course. Thus the student covers the same material while learning decision-making and group responsibility, crucial components in the formation of a sensitive, self-actualized individual.

An examination of the psychological and pedagogical bases of Guided Design might lead one to conclude that it comprises a self-actualization model drawn from Maslow's Need Hierarchy and made operational by the application of techniques delineated in Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*.

At the highest level of Maslow's Hierarchy is the need for self-actualization, the need to make full use of one's talents. The satisfaction of this need is held to be essential to the mental health of a normal human being. Moreover, self-actualization must be accompanied by the continued satisfaction of lower-level needs. Thus in addition to needs for self-preservation (e.g., food, comfort), safety (security, freedom from anxiety), belonging (acceptance), and respect, the individual has the need for self-actualization, which consists of three categories: 1) knowledge; 2) sensitivity-sensibility (the need to clarify values and to react to emotional as well as intellectual stimuli, to beauty, art and esthetic experience); and 3) decision-making (the need to make independent decisions).[2]

It seems just to say that schools do at least a fair job of satisfying the need for knowledge, but that they are less successful with the sensibility level and largely unsuccessful at turning out the creative, adaptive thinkers required in a world increasingly characterized by rapid and dramatic change. In addition, schools inadvertently tend to threaten the student's security at the lower levels of the Need Hierarchy. Thus if a student understands that he is a "failure," it would be an egregious understatement to assert that his need for acceptance, respect, and security is seriously jeopardized. And since the higher-level needs cannot be satisfied without guaranteeing the continued satisfaction of the lower levels, a situation of hopelessness is created.

Guided Design, on the other hand, tends to provide for the lower-level needs through group support and the use of programmed materials which allow for individual differences. The individual, however, cannot submerge himself in the group. Leadership is assigned on a rotating basis and the ability to think independently is both tested and supported by group interaction. Thus one's strengths are utilized for the success of the group while one's deficiencies are remedied by appropriate materials, individualized instruction and peer support.

In an effort to offer some idea of how Guided Design might be applied in language classes, let us assume that a second-semester class in Spanish which emphasizes apsects of contemporary culture will be asked to deal with problems that might be encountered by a young American trying to cope with a strange environment. The problems can often be resolved by the application of appropriate techniques which incorporate the acquisition and use of pertinent cultural and linguistic information and skills.

The class will be divided into groups consisting of four to six students. Each student receives a written instruction which describes a situation in which a young American who has an appointment with friends for a housewarming in Medellín is stranded on a highway in Colombia when his borrowed car breaks down. Numerous details are provided as to locale, time, and other pertinent circumstances.

The student is asked to identify the problem. After the students have discussed their ideas in their group and the group has reported to the class through its representative, the groups have an opportunity to discuss one another's findings. Written feedback is then distributed, which may confirm the students' statements or cause them to be modified. The instructor should circulate during all phases of the discussion in order to guarantee that it moves forward productively and in correct sequence. For example, students tend to bypass the statement of the problem and to proceed immediately to obvious solutions (borrow gas, hop a bus, telephone for help). The feedback, on the other hand, would probably view the problem as getting to the appointment on time together with the moral obligation of caring for the borrowed car.

Students would now be asked to state the basic objective. As is often the case, the statement of the problem leads directly to the statement of a goal. The students would then be asked to list any pertinent constraints, assumptions, and facts.

Some of the constraints in this case might be the distance to the friends' home, the time at his disposal, his limited mechanical expertise. Some assumptions would be a certain knowledge of Spanish, a dictionary in the glove compartment and, in terms of the class function, the programmed text and tape prepared by the instructor. Students soon realize that assuming that they are champion long-distance runners or that Captain Marvel is just around a curve in the road in his Winnebago are not valid. The "facts" would simply involve listing pertinent items presented in the first "instruction."

After the usual discussion and feedback the students can now be allowed to generate possible solutions. This comprises a brainstorming session of about four-minutes duration. The solutions generated can usually be divided into three types: 1) discovering the cause of the breakdown and correcting it; 2) looking for an alternative mode of transportation; 3) seeking expert help. The groups evaluate the suggestions in order to determine the most feasible course of action. In this case it was decided that he should seek help at a nearby finca.

The students are now confronted with the necessity of communicating with the campesinos. They must anticipate the vocabulary and structures which they will need in order to communicate effectively so that they will be able to move to the next phase of the problem. Will they find a skilled mechanic? How can one be found? Is it safe to leave the car unattended? The teacher must prepare materials with the same care a writer lavishes on a mystery story.

The succeeding steps lead the student closer to the eventual solution. Inasmuch as this class is in language, a solution is reached mainly through the use of Spanish in dialog, including telephone conversations. Cultural information also helps. For example, does one need tokens for a phone call; how much do you tip a teenager; is there a Colombian counterpart to the AAA?

In an engineering unit the student would be required to synthesize his findings in a final report. In our Spanish unit this statement could take the form of an oral narrative to the hosts at the party in which the young American recounts his automotive adventure. Then he could write a letter to the people from whom he borrowed the car, explaining his difficulties and perhaps offering tactful suggestions for preventive maintenance. Or would that be a cultural faux pas?

In order to achieve this "final report" the student would be expected to master the morphology of past tenses, the aspectual distinction between preterit and imperfect, and appropriate epistolary style; but, this final step in the solution of his "problem" should provide him with the motivation necessary to master these facets of grammar and style. Then a group letter or report will be written and, in turn, evaluated and revised. Finally the feedback will be distributed and some students may be asked to revise their letters to conform with some of the features of the feedback which did not appear in appropriate form in their own letters.

The class is then ready to proceed to the next problem unit, which might be structured around the kind of appropriate response to make when U.S. foreign policy is attacked or what preparation will be necessary in order to register for classes at a university. The remainder of the semester, apart from various activities introduced to vary the format, will consist of a sequence of related situations which must be confronted successfully through the use of the foreign language and cultural insight.[3]

My hope is that this necessarily sketchy outline of some of the features of Guided Design may arouse curiosity and lead to further exploration. The notes and additional references give some sources for obtaining information about various aspects of Guided Design. Obviously the preparation of such course materials would require an enormous expenditure of time and effort, but when has such a mundane consideration ever diminished the enthusiasm of the dedicated foreign language teacher?

Notes

[1] Information concerning the IMPACT program is available from Exxon Education Foundation, 111 West 49 Street, New York, New York 10020.

[2] A detailed discussion of Maslow's Need Hierarchy and Bloom's Taxonomy in relation to Guided Design can be found in Charles E. Wales, *The Guided Design Systems Approach*, which contains, in addition, sample lessons from several disciplines together with reprints of three articles evaluating aspects of Guided Design, SAM (the Self-Actualized Model) and PRIDE, the chemical engineers' acronym for Professional Reasoning Integrated with Design Experience. Further details are available from Professor Wales, Department of Engineering, West Virginia Univ., Morgantown, West Virginia 26506.

[3] A sample Spanish Guided Design Unit together with suggestions for subsequent units and an outline of the rationale for Guided Design is available from Joseph F. Renahan, Foreign Language Department, West Virginia Univ., Morgantown, West Virginia 26506.

Additional References

Benjamin S. Bloom, et al, *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives: Cognitive Domain* (New York: McKay, 1956).

Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality* (New York: Harper & Row, 1954); and *Toward a Psychology of Being*, 2nd ed. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1968).

MODERN LANGUAGE METHODS: A RESEARCH ORIENTATION

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About twenty years ago research in behavioral psychology, language acquisition, structural linguistics, and pedagogy all supported a theory that viewed language as speech and language acquisition as a set of habits. The theory was so impressive and the evidence of success from special intensive language programs so convincing that few studies were conducted to test its validity in a typical classroom situation. This behaviorist approach to language learning became the keystone of a comprehensive theory of second language instruction, the audio-lingual, habit theory. Underlying this behavioral model was the narrow concept of language itself being purely acoustical. In defining language in terms of sound waves, language learning became a matter of receiving and producing the appropriate sound sequences. This mechanistic approach to learning reduced language to a set of vocal habits that were conditioned to stimuli outside the human organism.

Learning by habit set into motion a methodological-oriented philosophy where teacher education became devoted to what a teacher does in the classroom with the assumption that his performance usually leads to good pupil outcomes. For the teacher trainer, contrastive linguistics and techniques for presenting the four language skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing became of paramount importance. The habit formation syndrome found its way into the methods class where students were required to master the techniques of choral responses, correct hand signals, positive reinforcements, and backward build-up. It meant teaching a class of students of differing aptitudes, motivations, and interests as if they were all alike. The impression is not to be left that training for presentation of material be eliminated from the teacher education programs, especially from programs that have limited field experience. Far from it! Emphasis, however, should shift from teacher domination to learner participation. The teacher in tomorrow's classroom will have to know more about individual differences and be prepared to provide learning activities on many levels.

The pendulum has begun to swing toward a more central position in the arc of language teaching methodologies and optimism is reverberating in the classroom and in modern language education programs. In light of recent research about the nature of language and language learning, teachers of modern languages have gained new perspectives on old topics. As Jarvis and Omaggio indicate when describing the future state of foreign language education, the emphasis will be upon humanization, individualization, and accomodation of learning needs and interests.[1]

The thrust of this paper is: 1) to review recent research in verbal and pictorial learning; 2) show how it supports a humanistic orientation to learning; and 3) indicate how it can be used in the classroom.

Recent findings in psycho-linguistics will support a learner-oriented course of study. Renewed interest in the cognitive processes of language acquisition has led linguists and psychologists to re-evaluate the relative importance of general rules and motor skills in second language learning. The essential difference between rules and skills is expressed by the terms competence and performance, which, according to Chomsky and more recently Jakobovits, correspond respectively to the formation of internalized knowledge about an abstract system of grammar and the actual use of language in concrete situations.[2] While performance is limited by various physical, neural, and temporal factors, competence reflects the speaker's ability to use the infinite and inexhaustible system of language.

This assumption, that competence is internalized knowledge of an abstract system, results in the conclusion that language competence cannot be taught, and that the essense of language teaching lies in providing conditions for learners to receive, encode, and organize this knowledge. Teachers must understand that, in the creative process of learning a language, each student constructs his own system of grammar--i.e., interlanguage, which by the way, differs from both the native and target languages. The pedagogical implication calls for more reasonable teaching objectives in our typical classroom situation of forty minutes a day, five days a week. No significant level of achievement can be attained when the learner is presented with vocabulary lists and grammatical concepts that overload his processing capabilities.

Verbal Learning and Memory

Recent research in verbal learning and memory has postulated multiple stores of processing, the assumption being that the presentation of any stimulus triggers a series of processing stages which can be graded along a continuum.[3] A word, for example, is processed in a multiplicity of ways. The dimensions are both semantic and non-semantic and include sense impressions, syntactic features, and phonological features, as well as primary and secondary associations. To complicate the matter further, the encoding processes change according to cognitive developmental processes. Underwood, by the way, has identified eleven parameters of encoding vocabulary into memory.[4] Two parameters, semantic and acoustic, have received much attention and illustrate the implications for remembering vocabulary.

Apparently, strategies of encoding vocabulary in memory change with language proficiency. Low-proficiency language learners encode the meanings of words on the basis of acoustic and orthographic similarities, while high-proficiency language learners encode vocabulary according to associations in meaning. The implication then, for the low-proficiency language learner, is that the teacher could structure vocabulary exercises based on songs, rhymes, and sound discrimination drills. High-proficiency learners, on the other hand, should benefit more from synonym and antonym games and other exercises related to semantic relationships.

In an interesting research project, fifth and sixth grade students read a twenty paragraph text.[5] Half the children received instructions to form mental pictures of the text events as they read, while the other half was simply asked to read carefully. A week later the children were tested on both verbatim and semantic recall of questions they answered during initial reading. Comparison of test results showed a decided superiority for learners receiving imagery instructions in both verbatim and semantic recall.

Picture vs. Printed Word

The appeal to the eye through the use of pictorial stimuli has long been valued in the teaching of language. A picture, a film, or a quick sketch on the blackboard have all seemed to aid the teacher in making an association between a situational context and its linguistic expression. Researchers have uncovered some interesting side effects while proving this concept empirically.

Considerable research in pictorial learning has been devoted to age differences. Researchers have shown that children, compared to educated adults, are remarkedly deficient in learning from pictures.

A comprehensive theory of how people learn from pictures is unavailable at this time; however, researchers have postulated the existence of a visual system and an acoustical system for processing information. Apparently, the meaning of a picture is encoded in both systems while the meaning of a written or spoken word is only acoustically encoded. Recent findings in the study of mental imagery and the interest in visual learning promise to keep research active for some time.

Picture-Word Learning

Pictures appear to be superior to words when used as cues for eliciting specific responses. Research has indicated that pictorial memory is superior to verbal memory and that free recall of pictures is consistently better than recall of words. Research points to two conditions however, where verbal learning is superior to pictorial learning: 1) when individual learning styles favor verbal encoding rather than visual; and 2) when learning concepts are not easily pictured.

Pictures with Stories

Research dealing with interacting effects of pictures and textual material concludes that with adults pictures have little effect on comprehension of a story. The benefit, if any, may have motivational effects resulting in improved learning.

Some researchers have discovered that, while pictures alone are inferior to words when the content is abstract, words can have an effect on interpreting abstract and ambiguous pictorial material. The visual grammar of Spanish by William Bull has support with this research.[6]

Picture-Picture Learning

Differences in word stimuli, e.g., meaningfulness, intralist similarity, and imagery value that have an influence on verbal learning, are fairly well defined. Differences in pictorial stimuli are not as well defined and have cast into doubt some of the research supporting its validity.

Researchers using as stimuli pictures that vary in rather obvious ways, e.g., line drawing, color versus black and white, static versus moving pictures, photographs, have produced startling results. Dwyer found that although students may prefer color to black and white, motion pictures to slides, and stylized to plain drawing, a specific type of illustration does not determine instructional effectiveness.[7]

Lippman and Shanahan researched the effect of integrating a word with a picture and found that using a technique called accentuation had facilitating effects on recall.[8] They describe three kinds of accentuation: 1) super-imposition--adjusting shape and size of letters to accommodate the figure; 2) creation of a picture using one appropriately shaped letter; and 3) inclusion of an invariant characteristic of the referent within the letters themselves. Results show that accentuation in general is better than a picture or a word and that inclusion of a type of accentuation is most successful of all. They did their research with children, who, as has already been mentioned, do not always learn best with pictures.

In my research on the effect of multiple pictorial stimuli in vocabulary learning, I wanted to determine whether responses were retained longer when paired with one, two, four, or eight different pictorial stimuli. In general, the results support the null hypothesis that no significant difference exists in learning or recalling an oral stimulus when a subject is presented in one, two, four, or eight contexts.

Only a limited number of research projects in pictorial learning are presented here, since the purpose of this paper is to justify the shift from a teaching to a learning methodology. We must, however, consider research with some caution and not allow the pendulum of language methodology to swing too far to the right or left. Neither the direct method at the turn of the century, nor the grammar-translation of the 1930's, nor the audiolingual strategy of the 1950's was wrong. They were incomplete and did not take into consideration the complexity of the learner. The method is not the most important element in successful language instruction. What is important are clear, plausible objectives coupled with a variety of techniques and much more consideration for the learner. If we are to develop a theory of modern language pedagogy, certainly verbal and pictorial learning will and must play an important role.

Notes

[1] Gilbert A. Jarvis & Alice G. Ommaggio, "Introduction: A bicentennial perspective," *Perspective: A New Freedom*, The ACTFL Review of Foreign Language Education (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1975), p. 2.

[2] Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965), pp. 3-5; Leon Jakobovits & Barbara Gordon, *The Context of Foreign Language Teaching* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1974).

[3] Leo Postman, "Verbal Learning and Memory," *Annual Review of Psychology*, 26 (1975), pp. 291-335.

[4] B. J. Underwood, "Attributes to Memory," *Psychological Review*, 76 (1969), pp. 559-73.

[5] R. L. Kulhavy & Ingrid Swenson, "Imagery Instruction and the Comprehension of Text," *The British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 45 (1975), pp. 47-51.

[6] William Bull, *A Visual Grammar of Spanish* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1966).

[7] Francis M. Dwyer, Jr., "Adapting Visual Illustration for Visual Learning," *Harvard Education Review*, 37 (1967), pp. 250-63.

[8] Marcia Lippman & Morris Shanahan, "Pictorial Facilitation of Paired-Associate Learning-Implication for Vocabulary Training," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 64 (1973), pp. 216-22.

THE ADULT EDUCATION FOREIGN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

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Teaching the typical adult education foreign language course can be a very disconcerting experience. For the uninitiated, it often presents a situation fraught with obstacles of a most perplexing nature. First of all, the students are not at all like the captive, grade-conscious audience to be found in the traditional high-school or college classroom. On the contrary, these are adults, tired out after a hard day of work at home or office, who generally feel quite free to drop out of the credit-free language class at the slightest hint of boredom or frustration. To complicate matters more, they generally want to become fluent in a foreign language, while rarely having the luxury of available time for study. In addition, they inevitably desire to have a certain amount of fun in the process.

Such an audience certainly calls for a radically different method of instruction from that which is used in the more highly-structured, grade and credit-oriented high-school or college classroom. Consequently, I have developed some pedagogical devices designed specifically for use with just such students. Falling essentially into two main categories, these devices will consist of introductory exercises for two-hour class formats.

Why is there a particular need for introductory exercises as such in the adult education foreign language classroom? I have yet to teach an evening adult education foreign language class in which all the students, no matter how well-intentioned, have managed to show up exactly on time. The first fifteen to twenty minutes of class time always present an inevitable series of perfectly valid "I'm sorry I'm late, but . . ." excuses. The students, quite naturally, come equipped with the accompanying freedoms and responsibilities of adulthood. Consequently, they cannot be expected to appear punctually in every single class. As instructors, we find ourselves in a position where we have to compromise. We have to structure our courses around our students' lifestyles and around the resultant classroom situation these create. Starting the planned lessons exactly at the scheduled hour would result in having to repeat some items later during class time for the benefit of those who arrive a few minutes late. An alternative would be to attempt to get some sort of spontaneous conversation going in the foreign language. This task is a virtual impossibility at the introductory level. A third option, of course, would be to leave the class to its own devices until all the members have appeared. In this case, with proper encouragement, a few of our more diligent students would probably ask one or two questions pertaining to previously covered material. The majority, however, would undoubtedly just sit around doing nothing in particular until the scheduled lesson started. Each of these three alternatives would assuredly result in boredom or frustration on the part of those students who had made a special effort to be in class on time. Consequently, we run the risk of losing the punctual students to the temptations of tardiness at some future date. Although this problem seems devoid of a workable solution, one most definitely does exist: the introductory exercise.

For the implementation of these exercises, I have found it to be a very wise course of action to prepare and duplicate in advance sheets with the appropriate sentences and vocabulary in the foreign language to be distributed as the students enter the class. This practice eliminates the necessity of constantly turning to the blackboard, leaving the instructor free to concentrate on the flow, rather than on the mechanics of the lesson. It also avoids bewilderment on the part of the late arrivals who will stare at the board in dismay. Furthermore, such sheets can be kept and used again at a future date during directed, individualized conversation.

A successful early exercise to use before much grammar has been learned consists of asking each student in the foreign language whether he is an astronaut. Chances are fairly good that the answer will be: "No, but I'm a . . ." Whereas in the traditional high school or college classroom this question merely elicits a series of "I'm a student," in the adult education classroom it provokes a wide variety of interesting responses such as: "I'm a doctor, a lawyer, a cashier, a physical education teacher, etc." In addition to these usual responses, the instructor should also be prepared for flights of fancy. The foreign language class is one of the few places where imaginative prevarication is permissible and even worthy of encouragement. Businessmen will fantasize about being poets and housewives will say that they are professional singers, all of which provides an excellent means of vocabulary expansion, which, of course, is our primary goal. The list prepared for this exercise would contain necessary structures as well as anticipated--or most common--occupations.

The typical American adult education classroom truly lends itself to an exercise on adjectives of nationality. The question "What is your national origin?" invariably produces a long list of responses, with many students supplying up to four or five apiece. Since adults, unlike many younger students, have generally developed a certain interest in their ancestral roots, this exercise endows the traditional list of nationality adjectives with a new reality by relating these adjectives to each individual student in a meaningful fashion. By the way, to ensure a large vocabulary accumulation, invite responses other than just American. Depending upon geographical location, the teacher will accumulate various types of lists, with stress on European, Asian or other nationalities. The instructor might, of course, choose to supplement this list by inventing an elaborate and fictional background for himself. In such a manner a vocabulary list that is usually tedious to learn is now mastered with enthusiasm and interest.

The adult student is always amused by the exercise in which each person is asked if he has an elephant in his bedroom, the point being to learn household vocabulary. In French, for example, you ask, "*Avez-vous un éléphat dans votre chambre à coucher*?" The answer, theoretically, is "No, but I have a . . . in my bedroom." For this exercise, you have provided your students with a list of possible items to be found in this location; this seemingly neutral vocabulary frequently inspires such humorous inquiries as "How do you say 'I have a man hidden under my bed,' 'My money is hidden in my mattress,' or 'I sleep with my teddy bear'?" Further drills in similar vein include: "Do you have an elephant in your kitchen? in your bathroom? in your living room? in your dining room?" Each provides vocabulary expansion based on those items most likely to be found in the various rooms. While young students generally do not own their own furniture or appliances, and therefore may not always be very interested in such an exercise, adults always chime in with enthusiasm. These people commonly have a substantial number of worldly goods and are most eager to know the names of these possessions in a foreign tongue. Furthermore, adults are also predictably curious about the contents of other peoples' homes, and so will listen attentively to the descriptions fellow classmates offer of their dwellings. Instead of learning an abstract list of items such as bed, chair, desk, refrigerator, etc., the students are now picturing specific possessions of their own, or are imagining those of their classmates, simultaneously applying the foreign language terms to them. All this results in increasingly rapid and retentive learning of foreign language vocabulary.

I have had great success with many other exercises of this nature, geared primarily for use with adults, including: What have you bought this week? What are you wearing today? How old are you? What time did you get up today? Tell me about the members of your family. When did you go to sleep last night? All of these questions work wonderfully in the adult classroom where they evoke a wide variety of interesting responses.[1]

These exercise periods provide a wonderful opportunity to let students guess about the instructor. When occupations are learned, let them guess how the teacher spends spare time. Have them guess about the instructor's national origin or family; they will enjoy expanding their foreign language vocabulary as they conjecture about his rising time, weekly expenses, or the contents of his house or apartment. Unlike the vastly more inhibited and occasionally somewhat indifferent younger students, adults will be fascinated by the instructor's out-of-school activities. Such curiosity combined with a heightened enjoyment will greatly enrich the language learning experience.

In order to keep these exercises running smoothly, the teacher should not let any student monopolize the stage for more than a minute or so. He should make sure everyone participates; ensure a smoothly-flowing drill period with total group participation by requesting frequently that students recapitulate any information given out by their fellow classmates. For instance, Mrs. Smith might describe Mr. Jones' living room; Mr. Smith could enumerate every single item Mrs. Smith claims to have bought that week. If, as is a more than likely occurrence, a student cannot remember everything that has been said, that student can be encouraged to inquire once again. This practice is good for all concerned: for the questioner, who now gets a chance to practice asking a question in the foreign language; for the person being questioned, who may now reiterate his answer; and even for the rest of the class, which will certainly listen more attentively to the answer being given this second time. Such recapitulation periods also provide a good way to avoid that syndrome in which each student focuses in on his own answers, planning them out, practicing them in his head, while completely blocking out the replies of the other class members. Such recapitulation also ensures good group interaction. By simulating a real-life conversational situation, this repetition consequently fosters a strong feeling of group spirit, a very important ingredient in the ultimate success of any of these exercises.

Two excellent phrases to incorporate into these exercise periods are "Is that all?" (in French, *c'est tout*?) and "Is that true?" (in French, *c'est vrai*?). The former phrase will prod the student into making his answers as complete as possible, thereby enhancing the usefulness of the session for the whole class. The latter will render the entire exercise infinitely more meaningful on a personal level. You will find that some of your more imaginative students will spontaneously use your duplicated sheets to create some ingeniously fictitious answers in the hopes that you will then ask them, "*C'est vrai*?"

What exactly makes these exercises especially suited for use in the adult education classroom? How do they differ from the traditional foreign language drills we encounter everywhere? Their success stems from a unique combination of simplicity, repetition and direct student involvement. Each exercise consists of a question of extreme grammatical simplicity relating directly to the individual student and to aspects of his or her daily life. Each inquiry, furthermore, is designed to evoke a brief but meaningful response for which nearly unlimited substitutions are possible. Each of these questions allows for a wide range of differing reactions and consequently for a substantial vocabulary accumulation. The questions take into consideration the often-overlooked fact that the adult education classroom is a highly social place. They do so by dealing with issues of direct interest to the students' own life, inducing and stimulating a vital group interaction. Another distinctive aspect of these exercises is inherent in the fact that each inquiry is sufficiently elementary so that after an initial period of instructor-directed interrogation, the students often spontaneously take over by asking the same question of each other. Each of these sessions may also be coordinated with a particular lesson or treated as an independent entity, since each is liberated from the necessity of utilizing previously accumulated knowledge. Every single exercise of this type lends itself to use in various levels of the foreign language program--be it at the traditional introductory, elementary, or intermediate conversational level, or even the intermediate to advanced language level.

Once the fifteen to twenty-minute introductory exercise period is over, a new dilemma inevitably presents itself in a typical adult education classroom. What does one do for the rest of the generally two-hour long session? How can the remaining time be used in a profitable manner? How does one begin to deal successfully with a class that meets only once a week, considering that most of the previous week's material will probably have been forgotten? To cope with this particular aspect of the adult education class, I have created a series of lessons in each of which little or no previous knowledge of the foreign language is required. In other words, each week's presentation is a unit unto itself, one for which the student has to retain only a minimum of what had been introduced during earlier class lessons. Furthermore, each also fits neatly into the two-hour time limitation of the traditional evening adult education course.

These lessons have repeatedly proven themselves to be highly successful in the adult education classroom. Each provides a structure in which the mature student is encouraged to sharpen language skills potentially useful in everyday, adult-oriented situations. Moreover, each lesson, when combined with an appropriate introductory exercise, uniquely satisfies the many, often-conflicting demands of today's adult education foreign language student in a manner that is certainly interesting, always linguistically profitable, and unfailingly entertaining for all concerned.

Notes

[1] A substantial number of such exercises ready for use in the French language classroom, complete with appropriate vocabulary lists and accompanying springboards for conversation may be found in D. Carton and A. Caprio, En français: Practical Conversational French (New York: Van Nostrand, Reinhold, 1974).

A REPORT ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SINGING AS A TOOL IN THE TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRONUNCIATION

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As foreign language teachers we are all aware of a certain apprehension that overcomes students when the subject of learning a new language is discussed. To help alleviate this apprehension, a course, Linguistics 199 International Folksinging, was developed at the University of Oregon. The course was intended to introduce students, who had never studied a foreign language, to the phonetic shape of four major European languages. Our hope was that more students, once exposed to the new languages in this manner, would consider taking one or more foreign languages.[1]

Although the University of Oregon has a B.A. and an M.A. language requirement of two years, International Folksinging counted only toward the fulfillment of general university credit for a degree. The course did not meet any degree or language requirements.

Students in the class varied from those without a foreign language background to those with advanced knowledge of a foreign language. Many students were unfamiliar with at least two of the languages taught, most of them with three. Perhaps some students wanted to become familiar with a language outside their chosen field; for example, a student studying a romance language would experience German and vice versa. Some language majors joined the class to examine a new teaching tool. Whatever the reason for enrolling, a common denominator, the interest and enthusiasm of the students, prevailed throughout the class.

The Songs

The songs were selected with one important consideration: we were language teachers with little or no musical training. We assumed no musical training on the part of the students; we also assumed that they would not be familiar with at least three of the four languages taught: French, German, Italian, and Spanish.[2] Four songs in four languages with as few phonetic difficulties as possible were to be taught in a 100-minute class meeting. Some songs were selected because they were familiar to students through a popular translation, or because the song, in the original language, was widely known in the United States, as was the case with Guantanamera. Others were chosen because they were interesting from a cultural point of view, such as those illustrating particular rhythms, customs, etc. We tried to avoid difficult melodies, so the students who had to learn both language and melody could devote their attention to language learning. We did not try to identify songs to teach or stress particular grammatical structures. Simplicity of melody and length of song were main concerns.

The songs were grouped in seven categories to give unity to the course: drinking, soldier, nature, love, region, city, and miscellaneous. The categories were selected in general agreement by the team, although some forced entries occurred. While German, for example, seems to have an abundant supply of nature songs, it was difficult for me to find a Spanish nature song. So a love song with mention of nature was used as a Spanish compromise. Our experience has proven that the poetic quality of a song does not equal its teachability; nor is the popularity of the song in the country of origin the best guideline for success. La Bamba, a well-known Mexican song, much liked by the students, was very difficult to teach due to its fast tempo and very special rhythm. The most successful songs were short songs with a familiar and simple melodic line, and an easily followed rhythm.

Teaching Technique

Each instructor established his/her own criteria for the level of mastery of pronunciation, keeping in mind that the course was introductory in nature and was to familiarize students with some sounds that were different from English. We wanted to encourage the students and to demonstrate that they could learn some sounds different from those commonly used in English.

Although the stress was on singing, the content of the songs was related briefly and in a general way. If, for example, a Spanish love song treats the subject very similarly or differently as compared to a German song, the difference was explained. We furnished the students with songsheets including translations of the songs. Some were verbatim, some were not. Some songs had musical notations in the original, but the notations were seldom used since the majority of the students could not read music; and the instructor, if he/she could read music, had learned the song as a child in a different way.

The speed of teaching varied depending on the melodic or phonetic complexities of the songs; but the method of teaching was essentially the same. First, without music, we would study the pronunciation of individual words or clusters, asking the class or an individual student to repeat until a reasonable pronunciation was achieved, according to the individual instructor's criteria. Generally a stanza at a time was taught. The music was then added to the words, either by humming the melody without the words or by asking the students to sing a small part of the stanza or melodic group. New parts were successively taught, repeating previous parts until the stanza or melodic group was finished. Due to a set of variables such as difficulties with pronunciation, problems with the melody, rhythm, etc., the number of stanzas taught in each meeting varied. But, once the music of one stanza was taught, the remaining task was to finish teaching the pronunciation of the rest of the song and sing it completely.

The Laboratory

Tapes of all the songs were kept in the language laboratory, so that the students could practice as the course progressed. The students did not have a scheduled laboratory segment and were encouraged to go to the laboratory to practice, or to listen; no actual laboratory time can be documented.

Testing

A test was developed to ascertain whether the students had learned some of the phonetic features taught, concentrating on certain aspects considered important by the instructors. The test had two parts. The first was identification. A tune was played or hummed and the students were asked to match the melody with the first few words of a song. The purpose of this part was to see whether the students could identify a song.

The second part of the test was phonetic in nature, designed to test the ability of the students to match sounds in English similar to sounds in a foreign language, stressing first vowel sounds and then consonant sounds. Sounds of the foreign language were given in writing, using words of the songs the students had studied; the English sound that approximates the foreign sounds was given orally and the students were asked to match corresponding sounds. The consonant sounds were given in writing. The student was to match the consonants also but particularly the different ways the same grapheme is read in the languages taught. For example ch is pronounced [ʃ], [k], [t], [x], in French, Italian, Spanish and German respectively.

Of the thirty females and six males enrolled, thirty-one took the final exam. Nineteen (61%) had a score of 90% or better; seven (22%) were in the 80% range; four (12%) scored between 70% and 80%; one person was below 70%. No significant relationship was established between the number of languages studied and performance on the test.

A second class was taught at the Oregon State Penitentiary (OSP) where nine students, all male, took the final exam. The students did not have a laboratory and the classes were somewhat shorter, between 70 and 80 minutes. Of this group, only two students had taken a foreign language at the time of the class (Summer 1975). The scores for these two students were 96% and 80%. Three students scored between 60% and 70%, one 48%, one 28%, and one 12%.

The test scores show that the students--without knowing any or most of the foreign language taught--were successful in learning new sounds through singing. No student, for example, missed the Italian [k], and only one the Spanish [t] when only six students had taken or were taking Italian and seven Spanish. I believe the test scores show that through singing students can learn to discriminate among the sounds of a language or among the same graphemes of different phonemes. Even the students without laboratory facilities at OSP learned new sounds and successfully applied their knowledge in a test situation. This result is encouraging for a teacher of foreign languages willing to discover or implement new ways of dealing with the tedious job of pronunciation drills.

Conclusions

At the end of the Summer session several students at OSP were asking for language classes. There are two language classes--French and Spanish--at OSP at the present time. I believe that many students felt more at ease when introduced to a new language in a more informal way, in a more relaxed atmosphere. I would recommend an attitude survey for participants, and where possible a follow-up on their pursuit of new languages, since my impressions are derived strictly without any documentation from conversations with former students.

Although more conclusive statistical evidence is needed, the teaching of pronunciation can be greatly enhanced by the use of songs as a tool for teaching. The students do learn some phonetic structures and the songs make the usually dreary visit to the language laboratory with the too familiar "repeat after me . . ." much more enjoyable.

Notes

[1] I wish to thank my friend Professor Helmut Plant, Department of German and Russian, University of Oregon, for being the spirit and the organization of the course. Without his vision and enthusiasm, this course--and the paper--would never have happened.

[2] This class was a team effort and my colleagues should not go unmentioned: besides Professor Plant, Margaret Lieuallen (Italian), Jean-Pierre Pigenel (French), and Paola Price (Italian).

GUIDELINES FOR THE SELECTION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS IN THE COMMON SCHOOLS: A WORKABLE PROCESS

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At the outset the word "process" must be emphasized as the key to this paper. "Process" is being used here in the dictionary context as a "particular method of doing something, generally involving a number of steps or operations." In other words, the paper is intended to outline a series of activities, steps, or procedures which teachers might follow in approaching the task of selecting a text series for classroom use.

Many textbooks are now available to foreign language teachers, and the task of making the best selection is one of the most serious decisions which the teacher must make. One must consider that most school districts must use a selected text for four or five years at the very least. The cost of supplementary materials, such as tapes and visuals, increases the cost of a new adoption to a sizeable expenditure. The problem is compounded by a constant revision of texts, making it almost impossible for the teacher to keep up with the changes.

The problem cannot be solved by merely utilizing a list of criteria for the selection of textbooks. Such lists abound, and they have a place in the process, but only if used in combination with certain other activities designed to produce a systematic approach. This paper represents an effort to describe such a system, and to suggest the activities which should precede the use of criteria.

The system consists in part of certain procedural steps to be taken as a preliminary exercise before books are examined. The actual examination of materials is performed by assigning certain categories to individual teachers who will examine the materials only from the standpoint of the assigned categories which are given a numerical rating, when the examination is completed, the ratings are summarized and final adjustments are made to produce a clear choice based upon specific considerations. All of the system's components are important and omissions will only make the process less effective than it should be. Although small schools are urged to follow the general approach of checking one category at a time, consultant help or any other outside participation will simplify the task. Other categories may be added, as needed, without affecting the results negatively.

Procedural Steps

A. Preliminary Activities
   1. Create book selection committee.
   2. Arrange for securing book and tape samples.
      a. Use list of companies in state education directory.
      b. Call the state language coordinator.
   3. Arrange for background information on trends.
      a. "Trend" articles in professional journals.
      b. Book reviews in professional journals.
      c. Get consultant help (state, university, etc.).
   4. Write consensus statements of broad program goals.
      a. What is the underlying philosophy of the program?
      b. Can program emphasis be clearly identified?
      c. What should the program do for the student?
      d. Can expected skills, behaviors, or attitudes be identified?
   5. Take an inventory of the local situation.
      a. Teaching staff--strengths or weaknesses in terms of training, background, experience, or special abilities.
      b. Equipment, materials, and facilities as presently available, and how they might affect the program.
      c. Administrative attitudes and budget commitment.
      d. Any district factors that could have an effect on the program.

B. Book Examination Procedure
  1. Distribute and discuss accompanying Criteria Sheet (see "Textbook categories" below).
     a. Revise, if necessary.
     b. Add other categories, if necessary.
  2. Assign categories for in-depth examination of books.
     a. Work singly or in pairs, depending on size of group.
     b. Work in any number of categories.
  3. Check each book against the criteria.
     a. Each person checks all books for one category at a time.
     b. Example: Each person checks presentation of cultural material in four sample texts.
  4. Assign a rating to each category of each book.
     a. Use the following rating scale:

        4--Excellent
        3--Acceptable
        2--Poor
        1--Unacceptable

     b. Accompany each rating with a brief explanation giving reasons for the rating of any particular category.
  5. Summarize the ratings, one book at a time.
     a. Each category used must be rated.
     b. Total all the ratings for each book.
  6. Rank books according to total ratings.
  7. Select by consensus from among top choices.
     a. Discussion is necessary at this point.
     b. Top choices must be adjusted in terms of local realities.
     c. See A, #5 of this section for suggestions.

Textbook Categories To Be Evaluated

A. Book orientation vs. program objectives.
  1. What is the "method" or approach used?
  2. Is it carried out satisfactorily throughout the entire book, or series?
  3. Does the approach fit stated program objectives?

B. Organization of material.
  1. Is the arrangement and sequence of topics satisfactory (dialogues, drills, exercises, reading selections, etc)?
  2. Is the number and length of lessons about right for course needs?
  3. Is there a series covering many levels?
  4. Is the transition smooth from level to level?
  5. Is the emphasis of each book in a series appropriate for the level?

C. Inventory of general items. Do the books contain most of the following?
  1. Reference dictionary and grammar charts?
  2. Review lessons at reasonable intervals?
  3. Tape loan for duplication policy?
  4. Has the series been recently revised?
  5. Is the price reasonable?

D. Teacher's manual.
  1. Does it provide useful suggestions on how to use the book?
  2. Is it clear, concise, and easy to use?
  3. Does it provide for such activities as games, songs, etc.?

4. Does it offer help with the presentation of culture?
5. Is there a laboratory manual, or book of instructions?

E. Supplementary materials.
1. Is the quantity available satisfactory?
   a. Tapes or records.
   b. Films, slides, flashcards, or other visuals.
   c. Unit tests, workbooks, maps, etc.
   d. Other variety materials.
2. Is the quality generally satisfactory, especially of taped materials?
3. How much supplementary material is supplied with the book, and are prices reasonable for extra items?
4. Are supplementary items such as films coordinated with the lessons?

F. Presentation of material for the oral skills.
1. Does design allow for systematic and sufficient practice in listening comprehension and speaking?
2. Is new work introduced orally first?
3. Are dialogues satisfactory in most respects?
   a. Complete but short.
   b. Accurate linguistically, and authentic culturally.
   c. Appropriate interest level for the age group.
4. Are provisions made for moving the student from controlled and guided situations into free and spontaneous areas?

G. Presentation of material for reading.
1. Does the reading material provide for systematic development of the reading skill?
2. Does the emphasis given to reading seem appropriate to the various levels?
3. Is the material interesting and contemporary?
4. Does the material tend to consolidate language skills before developing literary concepts?
5. Is the range of difficulty about right for each level?

H. Presentation of material for writing.
1. Is the writing skill developed systematically from level to level?
2. Is progress from simple transcription to free composition a planned procedure?
3. Is writing introduced early enough? (Simultaneously, or later?)

I. Treatment of grammar.
1. Is grammar presented through structure practice aimed at one problem at a time?
2. Is grammar summarized in each lesson as well as in the back of the book?
3. Do the number and variety of grammar exercises reflect the levels of difficulty represented by different structures?
4. Are grammar explanations linguistically sound?
5. Does grammar receive enough attention in the series?

J. Treatment of vocabulary.
1. Is new vocabulary introduced in context?
2. Are words reused often enough to allow for sufficient practice?
3. Is the quantity of new expressions in each lesson about right?
4. Are you satisfied with vocabulary summaries--in each lesson, or at the back of the book?
5. Does the author describe the system used to choose items?

K. Treatment of pronunciation.
1. Does it receive enough attention in the book or series?
2. Is it handled progressively from lesson to lesson?
3. Are specific exercises provided for improvement of pronunciation?

4. Are linguistic realities observed?
   a. Hierarchy of difficulty.
   b. Native language interference.

L. Treatment of culture.
   1. Do the dialogues and reading selections present an authentic variety of life situations in the foreign country?
   2. Is conversational vocabulary typical?
   3. Does the material bring out points of difference between the two cultures?
   4. Does the series treat the deeper aspects of culture as well as the superficial?
   5. Is the material supported by pictures, maps, or other such devices?
   6. Do some exercises or activities involve a mainly cultural objective?

M. Exercises.
   1. Are there enough oral and written exercises?
   2. Is the variety of exercises satisfactory?
      a. Controlled or guided practice material.
      b. Free or spontaneous practice material.
   3. Is there an increase of exercise material for more difficult structural problems?
   4. Are the exercises appropriate to the levels for which they are presented?

Summary

Most foreign language textbooks in the common schools are selected by a random technique consisting mainly of "page turning" and the consultation of criteria lists. The procedure needs to be more systematic; this paper has described such a system or series of activities which will lead to a better matching of text materials to the needs of a particular school and its teachers. The material has been presented mainly in outline form; each book committee should feel free to add categories or to revise them in any way that might seem appropriate.

Notes

The process described in this paper was first developed by the author as part of a project carried out at the University of Montana in 1970. Essentially the same material was later presented as a chapter in a Handbook of Foreign Language Study prepared by the Montana Department of Public Instruction for use by the state's foreign language teachers.

MLA Selective List of Materials for use by Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages. (MLA-ACTFL Materials Center, 62 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011, 1962; 1964), pp. 143-53.

Wilga M. Rivers, Teaching Foreign Language Skills. (Chicago & London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 368-71.

George Weber, "How Should We Select Public School Textbooks?" The Bulletin (Washington, D.C.: Council for Basic Education, 1975).

CONVERSATION SESSIONS IN AN INDIVIDUALIZED SPANISH PROGRAM

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Spanish and French programs at Anchorage Community College have gradually been individualized over the past three years. The Russian program is now in the process of being individualized. We chose individualization because we wanted to be able to offer more levels of courses more frequently, both day and night, than had previously been possible with our small staff. Before committing ourselves to this new methodology we were concerned with its effect on the oral aspect of language learning. The professional literature on individualization left no doubt in our minds that grammar could be learned successfully using programmed laboratory materials. But we did not want to lose completely the group interaction that makes language learning both fun and useful. We decided to maintain group conversation sessions as a major part of our individualized language programs. This paper describes how the Spanish program at Anchorage Community College handles conversation sessions.

Our college, with a student body of 4,700, offers the only lower division college courses in a city of approximately 160,000 people. A fledgling upper-division language program is available at neighboring Anchorage Senior College, but no language majors are offered. Although 150 full-time teachers are employed at Anchorage Community College, each language has only one full-time teacher. Between eighty and one hundred students enroll for each language in a semester. We charge a five dollar laboratory fee in addition to the regular cost of the class. This yields about $800 a year for each program. Laboratory money buys blank cassettes, magazines and other reading material, and multimedia language kits such as those available from EMC Corporation (180 East Sixth Street, St. Paul, MN 55101).

Our laboratory consists of six ordinary tables, a number of Wollensack cassette players, some multiple outlet boxes, several headphones, a few hand-operated Bell and Howell filmstrip viewers, and a high speed cassette duplicator. The use of individual cassette players, rather than a central language lab console, gives maximum flexibility for our program involving, as it does, students working at twenty or thirty different levels. French and Spanish classes are scheduled on opposite days to avoid overcrowding our twenty-five-student laboratory. Our equipment is set up in a corner of the college's Learning Resources Center with is open from 8 to 10 weekday evenings and from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. on weekends. The language faculty does not have responsibility for running the center, which provides remedial and supplemental materials for all programs on campus. Periodically, we do organize our own materials in the center because assistants are often too busy to keep language materials in order.

A student may not know when he signs up for Spanish at Anchorage Community College that he will be doing more than half his learning independently in the lab. Before registration each semester we advertise on campus with a posted flyer that gives a general description of how the individualized program works but not everyone sees this flyer. Courses are listed in the schedule just as they have always been, with first year sessions meeting five hours, those for second year, four hours per week. Once the classes meet, students are told that they will be released part of the scheduled time for independent laboratory study. Of the three obligatory class hours per week, two hours are conversation classes with the teacher, the other is a group work session with a teacher aide.

Aides are students who have completed two years of college Spanish or who are native speakers. They use teacher-prepared materials and earn one credit of Spanish a semester. If no aide is available, students work on their own with the material, which always has a taped component. They work in a classroom adjacent to where I am teaching so they can consult me on any problems that may arise. Some activities of these sessions have included: listening to a story on tape and answering oral questions; doing pronunciation drills with a paper and a tape; reading a short selection in advance and preparing to discuss it; adapting simple stories to play form for presentation to a lower level class; writing and memorizing their own dialogues; learning poems and songs from tape; viewing movies prepared commercially (I use the inexpensive rental films of Babbit Films, P.O. Box 10, Park Forest, Ill. 60466); using multimedia kits such as Así son los Mexicanos and Eso es by EMC Corporation; and, having students bring in slides and souvenirs from their own trips to Latin America to show to the class. The purpose of the session with the aide is to improve comprehension skills and to gain some introduction to Hispanic culture--aspects of language learning which are not covered adequately either in laboratory work or in classroom conversation sessions.

The two hours a week spent in conversation sessions with the teacher are the core of the individualized program. Each student attends two one-hour sessions with an assigned group at either the beginning, intermediate, or advanced level. In practical terms this means most first semester students (101) attend the beginning group, most second semester students (102) go to the intermediate group, and the advanced group is made up of third and fourth semester students (201, 202). However, students may attend any level and they may attend more than one level each week.

The teacher structures each conversation session around a specific grammar point. However, these sessions are not drills or teacher-initiated question-and-answer sesssions. Rather, the students actually discuss things of importance to themselves, using a very limited grammar structure that the teacher introduces each day. The specific techniques used have been borrowed from educators such as Virginia

Wilson and Beverly Wattenmaker, who stress that a language class should involve real communication and not a senseless manipulation of exercises.[1] College teachers are at an advantage in that they can introduce questions related to sex, religion, and politics without having to quiver at the thought of School Board reactions.

In order to be prepared for a conversation session, a student needs to read and to understand the basic grammar structure to be used. Grammar units average three to four pages each and explain in English one specific aspect of Spanish. They contain a few simple written exercises with an answer sheet. Originally I wrote the grammar units because I found that textbooks assume too much basic knowledge on the part of students. My grammar units assumed no knowledge of grammatical terminology, but simply set out to teach necessary concepts. Below is a list of the topics covered by the grammar units, showing which ones are used in conversation sessions at each class level. Although the list reads like the index of a grammar book, the sum total of the units does not equal a book. I put nothing on the sheets that is already in the textbook. For example, I explain the different uses of the two past tenses, preterite and imperfect, but the students learn all verb conjugations from their own text.

Grammar Units for Conversation Sessions

101

- Nouns and articles
- Adjectives
- *Hay* (there is)
- *Ser* (to be)
- *Estar* (to be)
- Interrogatives
- *Usted* and *tú*
  (familiar vs. formal)
- Verb infinitive constructions
- Possessives
- Demonstratives
- Regular verbs-present tense
- Stem-changing verbs
- Irregular verbs
- Reflexive verbs

102

- Prepositions
- Idioms with *tener* (to have)
- Telling time
- *Gustar* (to like)
- Indirect objects
- Direct objects
- Progressive tense

- Preterite past tense
- Irregular preterites
- Imperfect past tense

201-202 Fall

- Idioms with *hacer* (to make)
- Temperature
- Preterite vs. imperfect
- Present perfect
- Formal commands
- *Por* and *para* (for)
- Present subjunctive
- Future
- Conditional

201-202 Spring

- Passive
- Pluperfect
- Familiar Commands
- Past subjunctive
- Also review of material listed
  under Fall

Grammar units are used in conversation sessions in the same order students learn grammar from the book for tests. However, a student may still be working on gender and number for his first grammar test while he is using possessives in the conversation session. As long as he reads the grammar unit, he should be able to contribute to the class. As far as vocabulary needed for conversation goes, it is impossible to assure that every student will know every word needed for a session when people are working in different units. Therefore, I introduce some vocabulary in class, using both cognates and pictures with captions. The vocabulary may be posted on the board or on charts around the room or it may be on hand-out sheets. Pronunciation practice with such lists can be accomplished within five minutes. Students need not remember every word. What is important in class is that they manipulate certain structural patterns and that they communicate what they want to say. Vocabulary development is a slow and repetitive process and should not be their main focus during class time. In beginning sessions, I try to use words that they will be encountering in the first few lessons. I do not hesitate to use difficult or infrequent words when the students need them to get across an important idea such as their own profession or their description of a spouse's personality.

A sample beginning conversation session might go as follows. The day's topic is the use of the verb *estar* (to be) for a person's physical location and for his feelings at that point in time. The class (twenty to thirty students) comes in and sits in a circle. I say in Spanish, "*I am in class*. *I am not in the laboratory*." Students repeat each sentence. I then ask two or three students at random whether they are in class or the laboratory. Next I have two or three students ask others the same questions. By now we have introduced several useful patterns of questions and answers. I hand out a written sheet containing these same questions plus several pictures of places with captions. Using these places we go through the same patterns of questions such as *Are you at the beach*? *the theater*? This entire process takes no more than ten minutes. Students now divide into pairs and practice the entire paper alone while

I circulate. The purpose of dividing into small groups is to minimize teacher talking time and maximize student participation. After ten minutes of practice, students reconvene in a group. Each student is now asked where he is *in his imagination*. Any answer is acceptable; if new vocabulary is needed, it is put on the board as requested. The teacher must also answer the question. After each person has answered, the class "remembers" what everyone has said. The teacher asks, "*Where is Peter in his imagination*?" and everyone answers. This ensures that real listening takes place and that the exercise is seen as more than an empty drill.

The second use of *estar* is now introduced. I tell where I am in my imagination and how I feel, acting out the emotions. Several different places are used to get across several different feelings. *I am at the beach*. *I am happy*. *I am at the office*. *I am sad*. A sheet containing pictures and captions for emotions, as well as the new question *How are you*?, is passed out for small group practice. By the end of the session, each student has spent at least forty minutes talking in Spanish. He may only remember some words, but he will re-learn most as part of a later grammar assignment in the lab. He has manipulated two or three simple structures correctly. Note that he has not drilled all forms of the verb; *we* and *they* have been left out. Those forms will be learned and tested in the lab and will sometimes be used in the classroom for talking about parents, friends, and children, but for active conversation, they are not of as immediate a need as the *I* and *you* forms.

An intermediate conversation group session proceeds in much the same way. If the topic is indirect objects, the first five minutes might be spent in a circle passing around real things and practicing sentences such as: *I write you a letter*; *I give you some candy*; *You loan me your car*; *You explain the lesson to me*. A questionnaire, to be administered in pairs, is then distributed. The teacher moves from group to group correcting pronunciation, giving new vocabulary when needed, re-explaining the forms for any confused students. Questions asked, which are supposed to be answered truthfully, might include: *How often do you write your parents*? *Do you talk to anyone on the phone more than an hour a week*? *To whom*? *What is something nice you gave someone for Christmas*? *What did someone give you that was nice*? *Do you yell at your kids when you get mad at them*? *Do you ever send telegrams to your political representatives*? *Does anyone ever serve you breakfast in bed*? *Do you bring back gifts for people when you go on vacation*? After small group sessions, we meet again in the large circle and students ask me any of the same questions. The printed questionnaires they use are generally in the familiar form, i.e., the proper form of address between young people. However, for me, they must re-structure the question formally. I cannot refuse to answer any of the questions that I have written. However, they can also make up questions of their own. I can refuse to answer these, just as they can refuse to answer any question I prepare.

The grammatical structures of the advanced conversation group lend themselves to more profound and personal questions. These classes tend to be smaller (twelve to fifteen students), so we often compare ideas as a group. However, at least half the time, I still prefer to have students working in pairs to maximize the time each talks. In a group situation the two or three best students invariably dominate the remainder.

One activity which works well at the advanced level is a list of controversial statements such as: *men and women are born different*; *abortion destroys a human life*; *the death penalty is necessary*; *God exists*. Each student must prefix a statement that gauges the intensity of his agreement or disagreement. Which statement he chooses determines whether he makes the sentence subjunctive or not (*I believe*, *I'm sure*, *I'm certain* do not require the subjunctive in Spanish; *I doubt*, *it's possible*, *I don't believe* are expressions that do need the subjunctive). For the unit on the conditional, students are asked to tell how they would change their physical make-up, their personality, their life style, their place of abode, their job, their family, etc., if they were completely free to do so. For command practice, students go on "blind walks" around the campus where one closes his eyes and the other tells him exactly where to turn, what to touch, where to sit down, etc. Afterwards, students use the past tense to describe what they experienced on the walk.

Many of the conversational classroom techniques used in the program have obviously been borrowed from other disciplines. Psychology, sociology, and speech classes have developed communication techniques that can be adapted into foreign language courses.[2] Students love to talk about themselves and their group. Techniques for eliciting personal beliefs from them can be structured simultaneously around a point of grammar. Discussions on current problems, such as crime, can be guided into a particular tense just by the phrasing of questions. I choose to handle that topic in the perfect tense (*Have you ever done anything illegal*? *Has anyone you know ever shoplifted*? *Have you ever met a policeman*? *Have you ever read a pornographic book*?).[3] Care must be exercised not to embarrass anyone in class. No one should ever be forced to answer; very private material is best discussed in pairs; the teacher should venture no criticism of opinions expressed in these situations. The idea is to make students feel comfortable expressing their own interests and experiences in language classrooms.

With three conversational classes and three teacher aide sessions to prepare each week, the teacher of an individualized program is quite busy. As materials are developed and stored for future use, the preparation load lightens somewhat. At Anchorage Community College we work under terms of a union-negotiated contract which mandates a teaching load of twelve hours per week for academic classes. In the languages, we divide this obligation between the day and night programs so that a student may conveniently enroll for any level of Spanish. On Monday and Wednesday nights I offer three conversation sessions from

7:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m.; on Tuesday and Thursday mornings I offer them from 9:00 p.m. to 12:00 noon. The teacher-aide sessions are run simultaneously in a contiguous classroom.

Each student attends three hours of group work a week and is then free to schedule lab time as he prefers. In the lab he takes an assignment sheet which tells him which pages to read in the book, which tapes to listen to, which pages in his workbook to prepare, and which grammar sheets to read. When he feels he has mastered the material, he takes a test which is graded and returned to him. Students must complete a minimum number of units each semester in order to get credit. Otherwise, a grade of "incomplete" is assigned. Students may remove that grade without penalty within one year. Students above the 101 level must also select one reading assignment a week, using any article from a wide variety of student readers or magazines available in the lab. Three times a semester, the student schedules a personal conference with the teacher outside of class time. Conferences are used to urge along the procrastinating student, to suggest supplemental materials for the faster ones, and generally for the instructor to get acquainted with each student.

The level of personal involvement of both teachers and students is one measure of success of our individualized program at Anchorage Community College. Each student is personally involved in his own curriculum, setting his own pace, selecting his own reading material, being responsible for his own learning. Teachers are more personally involved with students than ever before through the individual conferences and the designing of special programs of study for particular individuals. But most important, by taking grammar explanation and drill out of the classroom, we have freed up the conversation session for what it really ought to be. Gone are the old drills and teacher-dominated classes. Two hours a week are used for true communication where both teacher and student discuss their beliefs and feelings in a language which is not their own. The classroom focus is on doing what students wanted to do when they enrolled in a foreign language in the first place--communicate.

Notes

[1] Virginia Wilson and Beverly Wattenmaker, Real Communication in Spanish (Springfield Road, N.Y.: Adirondack Mountain Humanistic Education Center, 1973).

[2] Some books that I have found useful are James Moffett, Student Centered Language Arts Curriculum K-12 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1973); David W. Johnson and Frank P. Johnson, Joining Together, Group Theory and Group Skills (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975); Larry L. Barker, Communication Vibrations (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974); Barrie and Charlotte Hopson, Intimate Feedback, A Lovers' Guide to Getting in Touch with Each Other (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975).

[3] Excellent ideas for conversational topics of general interest can be found in Pierre Burney and Robert Damoiseau, La classe de conversation (Paris: Hachette & Larousse, 1969).

SECOND-YEAR FRENCH THROUGH FILMS

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The intent of this paper is to relate my experience in teaching an experimental course of second-year college French last summer. Two factors especially contributed to make this experience a success: the remarkable progress achieved by the students, and their enthusiasm throughout the program. These results were obtained through the use of low-cost films.

The forty students who registered for my class represented a whole spectrum of interests: some wanted to improve their reading ability, others were prospective tourists anxious to develop their understanding and speech fluency; still others were planning to major in French. While the question of finding suitable material to accommodate a large and heterogeneous group of students is a perennial problem known to all teachers, it is particularly acute in a summer course, which must cover in ten weeks the equivalent of one academic year.

Despite the claims to novelty and assurances of success promised in the prefaces of most methods, the teacher still manipulates the tools of the trade. Updated cultural readers, humoristic grammars or improved audio-visual equipment may well bring comfort and fancy to our school-house, but the fact remains that we do operate in an *American* school-house, among *American* students with *American* experiences.

Imagining an ideal situation for my group of students, namely a genuine French environment, what would be their first cultural shock? Probably the painful revelation that the French people speak too rapidly and unintelligibly. If only they could put their sentences in writing, or at least *articulate* every word! This discovery would lead our American students to the inevitable conclusion that written French and spoken French are two different languages.

Since we were to spend a summer together, why not start from this premise and immerse the class in stimuli of French voices, so that they could learn to gradually unravel the mysterious clusters of spoken French? The use of tapes immediately comes to mind, but which tapes? The woes of students sentenced to traditional tape-listening are reflected in the following comment which I cite verbatim from a course evaluation made at the end of the summer: "I have a personal prejudice against taped laboratory work. I have avoided second-year French for four years because of this. This style was much better than the 'répétez' or 'répondez' litanies."

The style referred to is the taped sound-track from a series of French films. The series, entitled *Chronique de France*, is available at a very low cost through the courtesy of the Office of the French Cultural Attaché in San Francisco, and was brought to my attention by Madame Beauroy, Director of the French Film Library. It consists of about thirty-five short feature films varying in length from six to ten minutes and arranged by groups of four films, occasionally three, per reel. Using one reel per week, the series lasted nine weeks, which was perfect for my summer program.

After the sound track was recorded by our laboratory technicians, we had at our disposal thirty-six tapes, around which I organized the daily schedule as follows: listening to the recorded sound track during the first hour, reviewing grammar and style during the second hour, and practicing conversations based on a cultural reader for the last hour. Wherever possible, I coordinated the themes of both the tapes and book chapters. This task was not difficult because of the current and controversial topics covered by our reader entitled *Contextes*. To quote another student, these selections were "more like a magazine than a classroom book." I remember how the chapter entitled *La France de Cucugnan* nicely supplemented the film *Survol de la Provence*, and the perfect complement of the film *Parc national de la Vanoise* to a reading on the current development of national parks in France.

The order and nature of our daily routine did not change during the course, but a three-step progression in the laboratory work was established, corresponding with the three "terms" of about three weeks each. As previously mentioned, forty students with the equivalent of one year of college French have a great variety of competencies. Before immersing them in an exclusively oral situation, it was necessary to level their preparation to some degree, thereby reassuring as many as possible. To that effect, the students received a vocabulary sheet preparing them for the text they would hear the next day. The list consisted of words second-year students might not know (or remember), explained by a synonym whenever possible, otherwise translated. Words of the same family would be added occasionally; for instance the very "effrayer" was explained by "faire peur" and followed by the adjective "effrayant" and the noun "la frayeur." Antonyms were used wherever meaningful. We spent a few minutes on this list with special attention to the pronunciation. Once in the laboratory the next morning, the students, with vocabulary list in hand, heard the entire soundtrack without interruption. Following this I played it again, often interrupting after short phrases, with brief questions to check comprehension. Let us consider as an example the simple phrase "par une belle matinée de mai." Naturally, none of these words would appear on the vocabulary list, yet I could see many blank faces. One or two questions of the type--"C'est une belle ou une mauvaise matinée?" and "C'est en mars, avril, ou mai?"--normally suffice to bring smiles of relief in the audience. At the end of the session, the demystified text is heard once again without interruptions.

As the second three-week term started, the students received only a succinct vocabulary list as they prepared to listen to the tapes. By that time they had become so engrossed in the challenge that they had lost their inhibitions. When the taped sound track was played for the second time, *they* initiated the interruptions by immediately raising a hand. Toward the end of that term, I was asked to explain why I had started the summer with the more difficult texts. Of course I had done no such thing; the question reflected increased competency on their part.

The last three weeks of class I did not accompany the students to the laboratory. Each person recorded the text on his own magnetic tape as he listened to it for the first time, then spent the hour building his own vocabulary list, struggling and playing back at his own pace. Back in class, the students compared their discoveries and clarified most problems without my help. I collected the vocabulary lists merely for a routine check.

Throughout the summer our schedule was organized so that on the last day of the week we finally viewed the film. The solicited anonymous comments and evaluations about the films were all favorable and enthusiastic. One typical comment: "The films were very interesting and informative. Having already heard the tape and knowing the vocabulary made them easily understandable. I always looked forward to them, as they are well filmed and highlight cultural aspects particularly relevant to the class."

This statement emphasized, among other things, the artistic value of the films. To give an illustration of their quality, I shall mention two examples which particularly impressed the class. One was the story of William the Conqueror told by the Tapestry of Bayeux. A vivid narrative related the bouts between William and Harold while parts of the famous thousand-year old embroidery were highlighted on the screen. Another beautiful example was a film entitled *Gerard de Nerval et le Valois* which depicted the dream-world of the poet's youth: majestic old castles, autumn trees, misty ponds reflecting a children's dance, Sylvie, Adrienne. Even an audience unfamiliar with *Les Filles du Feu* was spellbound.

Another aspect mentioned in a typical comment identified the cultural interest of the films. I might add that they presented a welcome change from the traditional educative films on French castles, French wines, and French cheese. What we saw were different aspects of contemporary French civilization, ranging from the pageantry of a horse-racing track near Paris to a dehumanized cityscape obsessed with industrial growth. Such current features of French life never failed to involve the students. Even shortcomings proved to be assets: for instance, sexism, which was latent in several of the films, offered a wonderful basis for controversy and class discussion.

I want to mention the peculiarity of using tapes derived from film-scripts. We encountered here and there musical interludes, off-voices, exclamations, background noises, etc. They were all readily accepted by the students as part of an authentic situation, and the few periods of music or environmental sounds seemed to work as catalysts in what they provided relaxation between moments of concentration.

The summer of accelerated French through intensive use of the inexpensive film series *Chronique de France* was rewarding. The students not only learned, but they enjoyed struggling to learn.

THE CONTEMPORARY OCCITAN CHANSON

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The modern Occitan chanson is perhaps the most efficient and the most widely known means of expression of the Occitan movement, the largest ethnic minority in France. The contemporary chanson has, of course, a history and even a pre-history, which can be traced as far back as to the medieval poetry of the troubadours; but this could hardly be of much help in understanding the Occitan chanson of today or its social and political impact.

While the present-day minority movement as a political force has its roots in the Thirties, the political chanson in its present form did not manifest itself measurably until 1969.[1] Alan Ward of Ireland was the first to realize the importance popular music might have for the revival of the Occitan culture. Yves Rouquette, to whom we owe an introduction to the Occitan chanson, quotes Ward saying: "Tous les Occitans vous êtes de sacrés couillons. Si c'est avec vos cours d'occitan au compte-goutte, vos poèmes à trois cents exemplaires que vous comptez faire un pays, vous êtes de sacrés couillons. Un pays c'est des gens qui parlent leur langue, qui travaillent, qui mangent, qui rêvent et qui font l'amour dans leur langue."[2] Ward, a learned Occitan himself, collected popular songs and performed them in cafés and bars before moving on to Catalonia and Andorra. He thus prepared the ground for Broglia who began singing in the early Sixties. He set to music Robert Lafont's pessimistic poetry of night, solitude, and frustration, at a time when there seemed to be little hope for a massive, popular Occitan movement:

. . . . .	. . . . .
Dins la lassiera	Dans ma fatigue
Ai un espèr,	J'ai un espoir
Qu'a la carriera	Que dans la rue
Un jorn, un sèr	Un jour, un soir,
Quauqu'un seguiga	quelqu'un suive
L'enfant perdut	L'enfant perdu
E que me diga:	Et qu'il me dise:
Siáu coma tu . . .	Je suis comme toi . . . .[3]

The torrent of singers started in 1969 when Claude Marti, who had already militated for some time, started singing in Occitan, soon to be followed by Mans de Breisch, Patric, Pèire-Andrèu Delbeau, and others. It may be no accident that both Mans de Breish's and Marti's native province is Languedoc; both have, in fact, pronounced their first Occitan words just outside the works of Carcassonne. Somehow, having been the scene of the famous guerre du vin in 1907, Languedoc has acquired a privileged role in the Occitan struggle. Its present socio-economic structure (mostly family-sized vinyards) makes it particularly vulnerable to mechanization and industrial competition. In addition, the region has a clearly articulated dialect which can be understood anywhere in Occitania and which has distinct musical qualities.

Both artists can be very agressive. Mans de Breish, for example, concludes his Coal Miners of Decazeville with this stanza:

Cantem l'internacionala	Chantons l'Internationale
La cançon de nòstre espèr	La chanson de notre espoir.
Los carbonièrs de la Sala	Les mineurs de Decazeville
Nos an mostrat lo devèr.	Nous ont montré notre devoir.[4]

Marti, similarly, recounts the Montségur massacre in numerous songs and also sings about Occitan soldiers who fight the modern wars of Paris, or farmers whose land has to give way to military installations and whose villages die because the young have to seek jobs in the cities of the North.

The social and political concerns are not confined to Languedoc. Delbeau witnesses in his native Gascogne the government-promoted sell-out of the Atlantic shore and the disappearance of century-old trades and tools. Similar problems are dealt with in Verdier's songs representing the Northern Occitan provinces where the Occitan language has suffered the strongest French influence.

In five years' time a certain change of tone can already be noted: the Occitan chansonnier of 1975 has great confidence in the future, is self-assured, and has shed the "shame" of speaking and performing in Occitan. One of Marti's first contributions to the movement was not a song but a poster. Since 1969 it has become a classic of its kind. He exclaims: "Ome d'oc, as dreit a la paraula, parla!" Mans de Breish uses the same words in one of his early songs entitled La Vergonha, the Shame. Clearly, such an outburst of anger would be out of place in 1975. There is leisure now to look across the border and to reach out to similar movements abroad. Events such as Wounded Knee, the death of Salvador Allende, or Che Guevara, do not go unnoticed. Marti salutes Cuba in one of his songs and there is, of course, an intense exchange with other minority movements within the Hexagone:

Bascos e Catalans,	Basques et Catalans,
Bretons e Occitans	Bretons et Occitans
Fargarem una Euròpa	Nous forgerons une Europe
De gigants.	De géants.[5]

Of course, Alan Ward was not the first to collect and adapt popular legends and songs. Such activities have taken place since early romanticism. His generation of folklorists has challenged, however, the romanticist's preference of age-old legends and non-political, non-commital texts. The emphasis has shifted from idealistic and often reactionary poetry to more realistic and, not seldom, protest texts such as this description of the peasants' daily fare:

Fan la sopa magra	Ils font la soupe maigre
E i metan d'aiga	Avec beaucoup d'eau
E apuèi per son cochar	Et ensuite pour coucher
An un pauc de palha	Ils ont un peu de paille
Sovent per pas tremolar	Souvent pour ne pas trembler
Cochan ambe las bralhas	Ils se couchent avec les pantalons
Aquò arriba als paures païsans	C'est ce qui arrive aux pauvres paysans
Que son totjorn mòrts de fam.	Qui sont toujours morts de faim.[6]

These texts are still being collected. In his autobiography Marti speaks of hundreds of songs that have been brought to his attention by letter or by word of mount in the course of follow-up discussions after his performances.[7] Frequently his songs carry the ascription "popular," indicating an anonymous source for some violent accusation against factory or land owners or some bitter description of poverty and destitution.

Issues related to the political and social strife are unquestionably the foremost concerns of the Occitan chansonniers. In light of the numerous strikes and other manifestations of social discontent, this strain of violence, for which Marti coins the expression "poésie non engagée mais enragée," is not likely to disappear soon. But changes have occurred in terms of topics and dialectal variety. The Occitan chanson has expanded at an astonishingly fast pace. Since the debut of a spirited young lady from Gascogne, Rosina de Peira, popular poetry and traditional dances such as bourrée and branle have made their comeback. At the same time, her songs are embedded in the tradition of protest and she does not hesitate to incorporate in one of her songs the fierce cri de guerre of some mountain maquis defying the Inquisition and the royal militia (Los Montanhols). But even songs such as these are often picked up by the listening crowd because of their irresistible rhythmic quality. Having seen her impact on an audience during an Occitan fesitval last August in Montauban, this speaker does not hesitate to ascribe to this recent trend of Occitan music a vigorous future. Marie Rouanet's first record, which is less than a year old, seems to continue this joyful approach. Even Mans de Breish, despite his preoccupation with political themes, is far from despising it in his Ser de fièra.

These more collective topics of political and popular nature have not prevented the Occitan chansonniers from expressing themselves lyrically, at times using written poetry by R. Lafont, as mentioned above, Jean Bodon, and, in rare cases, even medieval texts. The influence of troubadour poetry is not limited to direct borrowings. Delbeau recognizes in his own poems how deeply indebted he is to the "gentle troubadours," that "deep well" of the past where he has found "the hidden spring" of his poetry:

Bohant de tor en tor	Soufflant de tour en tour
De païs en païs	De pays en pays
Lo vent dous trobadors	Le vent des troubadours
Es vingut dinca aissi	Est venu jusqu'ici
M'a portat sas votz	Il m'a porté leurs voix
A l'auba sus la duna	A l'aube sur la dune
En aqueth potz prigunt	Et dans ce puits profond
Ai trovat ma sorga.	J'ai trouvé ma source.[8]

One of his best songs, Per har un noveth munde (To Build a New World), is dedicated to the poet's task of uncovering the lost trails of the land between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean Sea and bringing to life again the ancient rhymes, in order that his land can be born, as he says, to new morrows. Marti evokes both his native province and its rich history in this suggestive line: "Entre Montanha Negra / La Corbièra e la mar / Som nascut i a plan mil ans" ("Entre la Montagne Noire / Corbière et Méditerranée / Je suis né il y a bien mille ans").[9] Viewed in this light, even history can be forged into a revolutionary weapon. When Delbeau calls for a crosada a l'envèrs, a reverse crusade, he leaves no doubt about this intention.

Along with history other sources of lyrical inspiration are nature and love, suffrance, time. These sources do not sound very original, but we could almost expect that, sooner, or later, the Occitan chanson, while still seeking its proper course, would attempt to express such universal themes. R. Lafont, who was mentioned as a poet before, provides the lyrics of this beautiful love song:

Sota lo cèu que l'aura empòrta
Dins un maset sèns ges de pòrta
Aquí
Sus una terra que s'engruna.
Que la robina s'empaluna,
Mentre lo jorn se'n vai que landa,
Solets dins la Camarga granda
Au bruch dau vèspre dins la sanha,
Lo crit de bèstias per companha,
L'espèr matat, la fe poirida,
Pauris enfants de paura vida,
Un diluns que dimarç lo buta,
Tot l'avenir en desbaruta,
Aquí siàm sols e nos aimam.

Sous le ciel que le vent emporte
Dans une cabane sans porte
Ici
Sur une terre qui s'effrite.
Où le canal devient marais,
Pendant que le jour s'en va d'un vol,
Seuls dans la grande Camargue,
Au bruit du soir dans les roseaux,
Avec le cri des bêtes pour compagnie,
L'espoir tué, la foi pourrie,
Pauvres enfants de pauvre vie,
Un lundi que mardi bouscule,
Tout notre avenir en déroute,
Ici nous somme seuls et nous nous aimons.[10]

Patric has given us other exquisite texts, but so far Delbeau bears the palm for poetic and also musically significant chansons about the Landes. Many of us know them rather from F. Mauriac's novels and from the people of the Côte d'Argent. Rather than discuss his art, I will allow one of his songs, Reflus, to speak for itself:

Amics qu'avetz pas mai
Lo deliri deu temps
Escotatz corrent
Amics qu'avetz pas mai
Lo deliri deu temps
Escotatz corrent
Las obsèquias deu vent.

Au bord de la mar grana
Ei entenut lo vent
Bohar un nom de hemna
Que passava au jusent
Mès la lama desjà
Me raubava sa traça
E non volot pas era
Me repetar son nom.

Galaupa mon chivau
Libre mon etalon
Beu d'aíga fresca
A la vielha hont.

Amis qui n'avez plus
Le délire du temps
Ecoutez courant
Amis qui n'avez plus
Le délire du temps
Ecoutez courant
Les obsèques du vent.

Au bord de l'Océan
J'ai entendu le vent
Souffler un nom de femme
Qui passait au jusant
Mais, la lame déjà
Me reprenait sa trace
Elle ne voulut pas
Me répéter son nom.

Galope mon cheval libre
Mon étalon
Bois de l'eau fraîche
A la vieille fontaine.[11]

The Occitan chanson was too successful in its few years of existence not to encounter difficulties in the future. There is already a prolonged conflict of opinions concerning whether or not the artists should sign with established show-business. Patric signed with Philips and stirred up a considerable discussion over this issue. Others--so far the majority--have decided to remain with Ventadorn, a collectively-operated record publishing house which automat cally reinvests all profits in the production of new records and in improving equipment. The feeling is that this is the only way to keep big money out of the Occitan chanson: otherwise its raison d'être would be violated.

Martí in particular makes it a point never to accept anything beyond reimbursement of expenses. Thus he remains accessible for school and church groups, social clubs and small communities which could not afford to invite a star. By and large the Occitan singer seeks discussion and exchange with the audience in order to keep up with recent trends in society while accomplishing his mission to create among the Occitan people greater awareness of their own cultural legacy.

These concepts are all rather idealistic, but they seem to have worked. But some singers have already started employing a second guitarist or a flutist or to travel together with a small band. It may be that the days of the sole guitar strummer, who had only his voice and his cause, are numbered. But one hopes that these new developments are signs of strength and flexibility rather than of decline. The Occitan chanson has made an important contribution not only to the political cause of emancipating the South of France, but has also brought back life to countless sleepy villages and communities, and has made good its pledge to help people viure al pais.

Notes

[1] See Robert Lafont, La Revendication occitane (Paris: Flammarion, 1974), pp. 241-46. Underlining the importance of Charles Camproux for the modern political Occitan movement, Lafont clearly does not attribute any political significance to the félibrige and F. Mistral.

[2] Yves Rouquette, *La Nouvelle Chanson occitane* (Toulouse: Privat, 1972), p. 24. Songs written or collected by Ward are to be found on pp. 103 and 105.

[3] "Passe-Carrièra," *La Nouvelle Chanson*, p. 70.

[4] *La Nouvelle Chanson*, p. 78.

[5] "Euzkadí Askatasuna" by Martí, *La Nouvelle Chanson*, pp. 121-22.

[6] "Los païsans," recorded by J. I. Royer, *La Nouvelle Chanson*, p. 87.

[7] Martí/Le Bris, *Homme d'Oc* (Paris: Stock, 1975), pp. 214-15 and throughout the book.

[8] "Mas cançons bohan dins lo vent," recorded on Delbeau's record DSC 302-30, published in Finhan (82) by Cap e Cap.

[9] "Cíutat de Carcassona," recorded on Martí's record *Occitanie, lo païs que vol viure*, GU LDX 74502, published by Le Chant du Monde.

[10] "Aquí," *La Nouvelle Chanson*, pp. 98-99.

[11] "Reflus," recorded on Delbeau's record *Camas de boi*, LDX 74529, published by Le Chant du Monde.

LES MINORITÉS LINGUISTIQUES EN SUISSE

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Selon le recensement fédéral de 1970, la Suisse compte 6.270.000 habitants, dont la répartition linguistique est la suivante: (près d'un million d'ouvriers étrangers inclus) 64.9% Alémaniques; 18,1% Francophones; 11,9% Italophones; 0,8% Romanches; 4,3% autres. Les Suisses vivent dans 22 cantons, soit dans des "états" jouissant d'une large autonomie dans le domaine culturel surtout, et par là donc en matière de droit et de politique linguistiques. Les divers groupes linguistiques forment en majorité des sociétés plus ou moins fermées. Le groupe alémanique habite la région comprise entre la frontière autrichienne, la limite des bassins fluviaux dans les Alpes d'une part, le lac de Constance et le Rhin de l'autre. Il s'étend sur 15 cantons, ainsi que sur les régions germanophones du Valais, de Fribourg et des Grisons. Les Romands (Suisses français) occupent les cantons occidentaux de Genève, Vaud et Neuchâtel, ainsi qu'une partie des territoires du Valais, de Fribourg et de Berne. Le groupe italophone est établi au Tessin et dans trois vallées grisonnes, le groupe romanche dans diverses vallées grisonnes. Il faut souligner que, dans les Grisons, les territoires des trois groupes linguistiques s'imbriquent fortement.

Ces dernières années, une tendance se manifeste qui vise à modifier la composition linguistique du peuple suisse. Les migrations consécutives à la croissance économique, notamment sur le Plateau, ont donné naissance, dans les grandes villes, à de fortes minorités linguistiques. Il en est ainsi à Genève et à Lausanne, où de nombreux Suisses alémaniques se sont établis, et à Berne, Zurich, Bâle, Soleure, qui ont accueilli d'importants contingents romands. Les Tessinois et les Rhéto-romanches aussi se sont établis au nord des Alpes, attirés par de meilleures possibilités de gain. Les centaines de milliers de travailleurs italiens immigrés ont en outre contribué à l'afflux d'italophones en Suisse. L'évolution du marché de l'emploi poussera peut-être un jour les Italophones non suisses à regagner leur patrie. C'est pourquoi il ne faut pas accorder un caractère déterminant à des phénomènes liés à la conjoncture, pour juger la répartition des quatre langues nationales de la Suisse.

Langue nationale et langue officielle. L'article 116 de la Constitution fédérale déclare que les trois langues officielles du pays sont l'allemand, le français et l'italien. Lorsque, dans les années de l'entre-deux guerres, des voix se firent entendre dans l'Italie fasciste pour ramener le romanche au rang d'un dialecte italien, et par là justifier une revendication sur les Grisons et le Tessin, les populations rhéto-romanes, conscientes du danger, obtinrent en 1938 la reconnaissance, par le peuple suisse, de leurs idiomes comme quatrième langue nationale suisse. Le romanche est une langue dérivée du latin avec un arrière-fonds celtique et rhétique, qui a subi au cours des siècles de fortes influences germaniques et italiennes, mais qui a gardé dans son ensemble des caractéristiques étymologiques très archaïques. Le groupe linguistique rhéto-roman est si peu important numériquement (à peine 50,000 personnes) que l'emploi des trois idiomes romanches en tant que langue officielle de la Confédération poserait des problèmes. Il suffit de penser aux frais de traduction et d'impression des textes officiels. C'est pourquoi seuls l'allemand, le français et l'italien sont les langues officielles, le romanche demeurant langue nationale. Cet état de fait n'a jusqu'aujourd'hui jamais donné lieu à des protestations de la part des Rhéto-romans. Toutefois, les arrêtés importants de la Confédération sont traduits, selon le principe de la rotation, dans un des trois idiomes rhéto-romans.

Dans ses relations avec les cantons, l'Etat fédéral emploie la langue du canton. Chaque membre du gouvernement et chaque employé de l'administration a le droit fondamental de parler en sa langue. Dans les faits, au Parlement, on utilise surtout l'allemand et le français, car l'italien n'est pas compris de tous. Chaque fonctionnaire fédéral doit connaître une deuxième langue nationale. Au tribunal fédéral et dans les tribunaux spéciaux de la Confédération les trois langues officielles sont admises.

Quelle est la langue de l'armée? Le principe est que la langue maternelle de la troupe est celle du commandement, ce qui rend nécessaire des cadres issus des trois régions linguistiques. Si des unités sont composées de soldats parlant des langues différentes, on recourt alors à la traduction. Les principaux réglements et ordonnances de service sont publiés dans les trois langues officielles. Dans les cours de cadres, les participants parlent et écrivent, en principe, leur langue.

Le droit linguistique cantonal. Si un canton est unilingue, le principe territorial détermine l'emploi d'une langue officielle, enseignée à l'école. Les enfants de parents d'une autre langue doivent suivre l'école dans la langue locale. Les cantons bilingues sont Berne, Fribourg et Valais (allemand-français), alors que le canton des Grisons est trilingue (allemand-italien-romanche). Le principe territorial y trouve aussi son application, mais sur le plan régional, voire communal: la langue se détermine au niveau le plus bas. Sur le plan cantonal, en revanche, les deux ou trois langues nationales sont égales en droit. Il faut souligner que ce principe n'est pas toujours strictement appliqué, notamment dans le cas d'interprétation d'articles législatifs: comme au niveau fédéral, c'est alors la langue de l'auteur qui est déterminante.

S'il n'existe pas des minorités linguistiques *de jure*, leur existence *de facto* n'est pas niable. La loi coutumière de la tolérance peut souffrir des atteintes, en particulier entre groupes économiques, sociaux et confessionnels tout simplement en raison de différences qu'on ne peut effacer d'un trait de plume. Chaque année, la Confédération distribue des crédits pour soutenir l'activité culturelle du Tessin et des vallées italophones des Grisons et pour maintenir vivante la culture des vallées rhéto-romanes des Grisons. La fondation Pro Helvetia, que la Confédération charge de la défense culturelle de la Suisse, a notamment pour tâche d'accorder une attention spéciale aux particularités culturelles des minorités linguistiques du Tessin et des Grisons, en accord avec les autorités de ces cantons.

La Question jurassienne. Le "Problème jurassien" touche actuellement tous les Suisses. Selon sa Constitution, le canton de Berne est formé du "peuple de l'ancien canton", de langue allemande (sauf quelques localités) représentant la majorité de la population bernoise, et du "peuple jurassien" de langue française (excepté la vallée de Laufon). Un mouvement lutte en faveur de la séparation et pour la constitution d'un canton indépendant, pour des motifs historiques, économiques et linguistiques.

Le Jura est le seul pays de la Confédération suisse à ne pas disposer à ce jour du statut d'autonomie cantonale qui lui permettrait de sauvegarder son identité avec le patrimoine transmis par l'histoire. C'est là l'explication profonde de la Question jurassienne. Tant que le peuple jurassien ne pourra pas exercer la vocation qui doit être la sienne au sein de la Confédération helvétique, un foyer de mésentente et de troubles ne manquera pas de subsister. Cent soixante ans d'histoire sont là pour en témoigner.

En 1815, le Congrès de Vienne fait pression sur Louis XVIII pour qu'il abandonne le territoire jurassien formant l'ancien Evêché de Bâle. La volonté des puissances est de reculer la frontière française qui, à peu de choses près, suit la limite des langues au sud du Jura, à une trentaine de kilomètres de Berne, et d'offrir à cette dernière le pays s'étendant jusqu'au Doubs et à la Trouée de Belfort. L'Autriche a un grand intérêt à renforcer Berne en tant qu'Etat-tampon antirévolutionnaire contre l'ouest. L'annexion du Jura représenterait aussi une compensation pour la perte de l'Argovie et du Pays de Vaud, anciens baillages de Berne qui ont été élevés au rang d'Etat confédéré en 1803 par Napoléon. Le Conseil secret de Berne a tout d'abord quelques doutes de saisir la compensation qu'on lui offre. Il invoque l'incertitude d'une pareille possession et les difficultés que soulèverait la différence de moeurs, de religion et de langue. Les députés jurassiens résistent décisivement. Ils affirment que les six septièmes de leurs concitoyens repoussent toute idée de rattachement à l'Etat bernois. Leur premier voeu, comme le plus naturel, serait pour une union avec la France et le second pour celle avec la Suisse, en formant toutefois un canton à part, gouverné par ses propres lois. Malgré leur opposition, le Jura est annexé à l'Etat bernois. Ainsi est née la Question jurassienne qui a flambé durant tout le XIX^{e} siècle, et dont les conséquences ont fait naître, dès 1947, un mouvement populaire dont le but irrévocable est l'indépendance politique du Jura.

Le Jura est composé de sept districts: les trois districts du nord sont francophones et catholiques; les trois districts du sud sont aussi francophones, mais protestants; le septième district, la vallée de Laufon, est germanophone et catholique. Depuis la Réformation, il existait toujours une bonne relation entre les trois districts francophones et protestants du sud et l'Etat de Berne. Les Bernois étaient les protecteurs naturels des protestants jurassiens contre leur souverain, l'évêque de Bâle. Mais avec la démocratisation de la Suisse en 1848 (Constitution de 1848), des frictions commencent à se développer. Ce sont surtout des questions relatives à la liberté religieuse qui troublent les rapports du Jura avec le gouvernement bernois. Des mouvements séparatistes s'organisent, surtout dans les trois districts du nord qui sont finalement occupés militairement par le gouvernement bernois. L'ultimatum de l'ambassadeur de France contraint les Bernois à reculer. Pendant la Guerre franco-allemande, la Suisse germanique est du côté de Guillaume II et des Empires centraux, tandis que les Suisses français tiennent pour la France. Le peuple jurassien qui est toujours un peu à l'heure de 1815, se débat, résiste, proteste. Ces troubles ne sont pas précisément le résultat d'un désir de réformes, mais plutôt d'un projet de réunion à la France. Coupés de ce pays par une frontière artificielle qui étrangle leur économie, les Jurassiens se défendent âprement. Ils manifestent leur opposition à l'ordre étatique fondamental en refusant au vote secret la Constitution fédérale de 1848, la Constitution fédérale révisée en 1874 et la Constitution cantonale bernoise de 1893. Ces chartes qui règlent l'exercice de la souveraineté à deux échelons superposés, sont toujours en vigueur, et les Jurassiens qui les ont refusées, sans pouvoir s'y soustraire, se sentent soumis à une domination étrangère.

Après un siècle d'incorporation des Jurassiens au canton de Berne, l'idée d'un canton du Jura est nettement plus vivace et plus dynamique qu'au début de la vie commune. Les difficultés de divers ordres qui n'ont cessé de jalonner l'histoire commune des deux pays au XIX^{e} siècle et au début du XX^{e} ont donné aux Jurassiens une conscience plus vive de leur différence irréductible avec le peuple de l'ancien canton et de leur appartenance à une même entité nationale distincte. Le 20 septembre 1947, trois mille personnes se réunissent à Delémont et entendent les discours de politiciens. Comme l'heure n'est plus aux protestations, l'assemblée charge la députation et les trois grandes associations jurassiennes de constituer un comité pour la défense des droits et des intérêts du Jura. Ce comité aura plus spécialement pour tâche de faire procéder à des études juridiques, constitutionnelles, économiques et financières sur la question d'une éventuelle autonomie jurassienne, la séparation étant comprise dans ce terme. De là le Rassemblement jurassien est né, un mouvement organisé, indépendant, représentant toutes les tendances politiques, religieuses, linguistiques et économiques jurassiennes.

Vers 1962, l'on voit apparaître sur les murs et sur les routes les lettres "FLJ", le sigle d'un Front de libération jurassienne. Cette appellation n'était pas difficile à trouver, étant donné que l'on sortait de la guerre d'Algérie où le FLN avait obtenu satisfaction. Il n'y avait qu'à changer le N en J.

Il s'agit d'un mouvement de résistance clandestin dont le but final est de redonner au Jura, par n'importe quel moyen, sa liberté. Il n'a aucune relation avec le Rassemblement jurassien et endosse seul la responsabilité de ses actions. Les menaces contenues dans les tracts et les lettres de ce groupe de terroristes, écrits qui sont généralement reproduits par plusieurs journaux, alarment sérieusement les familles des citoyens connus pour leurs opinions antiséparatistes. Ces menaces proférées font craindre des entreprises criminelles contre des ponts, des routes et des voies ferrées, ainsi que contre les écoles de langue allemande de la région.

Aux XIX^{e} et au début du XX^{e} siècle, beaucoup de Bernois se sont établis au sud du Jura. Il y a aujourd'hui autant de Bernois que de Jurassiens dans les trois districts du sud. Les trois districts du nord sont restés réfractaires à l'influence bernoise. L'avenir des territoires du sud restera donc le grand point d'interrogation surtout depuis la naissance le l'Union des patriotes jurassiens, une organisation de Bernois établis dans ces trois districts. Fin septembre 1963, les représentants de cette organisation se réunissent en congrès annuel et proposent un partage du Jura qui consisterait à détacher le Jura-Nord, la partie sud du Jura étant abandonnée aux Bernois. Ce projet est très mal accueilli par les milieux jurassiens. On parle de "mur de la honte" entre deux régions d'une même patrie. Le FLJ répond par deux explosions; les bâtiments ainsi attaqués appartiennent à deux chefs du mouvement pro-bernois.

A la suite de plusieurs événements turbulents, les Bernois acceptent finalement, le 1 mars 1970, un additif à la Constitution bernoise selon lequel les habitants du Jura pourront s'autodéterminer et décider la création d'un nouveau canton. Cette révision constitutionnelle est une étape décisive vers l'autonomie jurassienne. Le premier plébiscite a eu lieu le 23 juin 1974. 90% des résidents des sept districts y ont participé. La majorité totale a été en faveur d'une séparation, soit 36'802 pour et 34'057 contre. Dans les trois districts du nord, trois sur quatre votants se sont exprimés en faveur de la séparation tandis que dans les trois districts du sud, sept sur trois votants se sont prononcés contre (avec des variations locales considérables). La petite majorité totale (2'745 votes) pour la séparation est le seul facteur qui n'a pas pu être prédit. A part cela, le résultat dans les six districts francophones est comme prédit. Dans les trois districts francophones du sud qui n'ont pas voté en accord avec la majorité totale, la deuxième série de votes a eu lieu le 16 mars 1975. Le scrutin n'a pourtant rien changé: la majorité des votants dans tous les trois districts on réaffirmé leur loyauté envers Berne. Pourtant quelques communes individuelles qui ont une frontière commune avec l'un des trois districts du nord ont voté pour la séparation. Pour ces communes, le troisième plébiscite a eu lieu le 14 septembre 1975.

Après tous ces votes en cascade, les confins précis du nouveau canton peuvent être tracés: huit communes d'un district méridional joindront les trois districts du nord pour former le canton du Jura. Les procédures nécessaires pour la création de ce nouveau canton (élection de l'Assemblée constituante, élaboration d'une Constitution, acceptation de celle-ci par les habitants du canton en création) vont durer de trois à quatre ans. En 1980, au plus tard, la Confédération et la population suisse pourront accueillir le Jura comme 23^{e} canton dans leur milieu. Ainsi les Suisses seront particulièrement satisfaits que l'ordre démocratique de leur pays a prévalu dans la solution d'un problème qui menaçait les bonnes relations entre la Suisse française et la Suisse allemande.

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A MULTI-DISCIPLINARY SYNTHESIS IN THE GERMAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION COURSE

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Perhaps the greatest single obstacle facing me two years ago in attempting to set up a course on German Culture and Civilization was the lack of an adequate text around which the course could be planned. While numerous "cultural readers" were available, in which literary excerpts predominate, I was unable to find a book that would offer a survey of significant German contributions in the fields of painting, music, architecture, philosophy, as well as literature (although literature was not the main focus) against the background of historical and social developments.

Since my primary objective in the course was to show German contributions to western culture as products or outgrowths of their respective times, a new approach was obviously necessary, one which would integrate textual material taken from many different disciplines. It seemed out of the question to ask the students to buy, for instance, a German history book, an art history, music history, literary history, a book on great German philosophers, etc., even if one comprehensive volume in each of these fields had been available. Thus, to provide a brief overview of the history and geography of the German-speaking countries, the students were asked to purchase only one general cultural reader in simple German.[1] They were also provided some complimentary texts from the East and West German information centers to use as reference works;[2] and, most important, they were required to read sections of a variety of texts, both in German and in English, which were held on reserve in the university library for the duration of the term.[3] From this bibliography the students were then able to prepare themselves for class lectures, which were always given in German and which presented first a general historical background of the period in question and then went on to discuss the significant cultural developments of that period in both historical and social context.[4]

For a ten-week term, the plan divides the course into five units of roughly two weeks each. After an introductory overview segment, the syllabus focusses on the last 100 years of German history, dividing the period, from the unification under Bismarck, into four units: Imperial Germany (1871-1918), the Weimar Republic (1919-1933), the Third Reich (1933-1945), and the post-war decades. Each unit contains lectures on historical, economic, and political developments; these are followed by lectures on significant concurrent developments in the arts and by student reports. A short identification quiz ends the unit. To ensure student comprehension of the lectures, the first five to ten minutes of each hour are devoted to a summary and question-and-answer period (in English) of the material covered during the preceding class hour.

The primary purpose of the student reports is to introduce student participation into basically a lecture format. Experience had taught me that students were generally more alert when one of their colleagues was speaking than when the instructor lectured throughout the entire hour. The lectures would conceivably also have more meaning than otherwise to the students if they were preparing the students to report on some aspect of the same material.

Realizing also that a rather wide range of interests and backgrounds is represented in any given class, I had hoped to allow the students to select specialized areas of expertise, which they could then share with the others in the class. Therefore, a list of possible topics for reports is distributed during the first weeks of class and students are asked, somewhat in seminar fashion, to commit themselves to one of the topics proposed or to suggest additional topics of their own.[5]

Each of the four units is followed by one to three student reports, lasting ten to fifteen minutes each. Students work in tandem, which serves to reduce some of their nervousness and to enable them to prepare their thoughts with one another before presenting their reports to the class. This practice also restricts the number of reports so that each topic can be somewhat greater in scope than will otherwise be the case. These reports are distributed over the four units so that the alternation between teacher and student input occurs at more frequent intervals than would otherwise be the case. They are also given at the close of the unit to which they relate most closely: for instance, after the lectures on the history and arts of Imperial Germany, one report can be given on Wagner's "Gesamtkunstwerk," which a second traces the origins and development of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), and a third explores the work of Freud in Vienna at the turn of the century. Students are given the option of reporting in English or German, or a combination of both. In my experience, most choose to write a general introduction in German, which they then read aloud, followed by a spoken, in-depth discussion in English.

As in the reports, the quizzes and final examination also offer the students a choice of questions to be answered: following each of the five units, students are asked to identify and briefly discuss any ten of twenty German concepts, persons, art works, etc. relevant to the period (Erwin Piscator, Schandfrieden, and Bauhaus for the Weimar Republic; Blut und Boden, Ernst Kretschmer, and Lebensborn for the Third Reich; Friedrich Dürrenmatt, EWG, and Alleinvertretungsanspruch for the postwar period). The final examination also offers a choice of three out of five essay questions, only one of which (of their choosing) must be answered in German. In view of the attention given nationally to individualization of late, it is not necessary here to defend further the merits of a format which allows students to "specialize" in certain areas of German culture and neglect others, depending upon their backgrounds and interests; that is, to take from the course whatever content seems relevant to their needs. In addition, their knowledge of German improves rapidly when they expand it through study of areas of great interest to them.

Films, slides, and guest speakers from other disciplines (such as history, music, and art history) lend themselves very readily to this course format. I have found the slide sets of caricatures from the Weimar Republic and Third Reich particularly useful, since they represent an art form which deals directly with the historical events and personalities of the times and thereby brings them into sharp focus.[6]

Notes

[1] Perspektiven I. Konfrontationen mit Deutschland (Madison, Wis.: Madison Collective, 1975).

[2] Facts about Germany and Die DDR stellt sich vor.

[3] See Appendix I below, "Bibliography of Texts for Units II-V."

[4] See Appendix II below, "Course Syllabus."

[5] See Appendix III below, "Some Topics for Student Reports."

[6] The slides are available from the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany / 1617 IBM Building / Seattle, Washington 98101. The set, "Caricatures from the Time of the Weimar Republic," contains both color and black/white slides with accompanying German text. The same set is available in two parts from AATG/NCSA Service Center / 339 Walnut Street / Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106. Each part contains twenty-two slides: I. "Deutschland (1918-1933) in der Karikatur (Weimarer Zeit)," no. 370. 1/1; II. "Der Nationalsozialismus in der Karikatur," no. 280. 1/1.

APPENDIX I
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TEXTS FOR UNITS II-V

General History:

Mann, Golo. The History of Germany since 1789. Trans. Marian Jackson. New York: Praeger, 1968.

Tenbrock, Robert-Hermann. Geschichte Deutschlands. 2nd ed. Munich: Hueber, 1968.

Weimar Republic:

Gay, Peter. Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

Third Reich:

Bracher, Karl Dietrich. The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure and Effects of National Socialism. Trans. Jean Steinberg. New York: Praeger, 1970.

Wulf, Josef. Literatur und Dichtung im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1963.

Postwar Germany:

Balfour, Michael. West Germany. New York: Praeger, 1968.

Grosser, Alfred. Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Bilanz einer Entwicklung. Tübingen: Wunderlich, 1967.

Schallück, Paul, ed. Deutschland: Kulturelle Entwicklungen seit 1945. Munich: Hueber, 1969.

German Democratic Republic:

Childs, David. East Germany. New York: Praeger, 1969.

Smith, Jean Edward. Germany Beyond the Wall. Boston: Little, Brown, 1969.

Thomas, Rüdiger. Modell DDR: Die kalkulierte Emanzipation. Munich: Hanser, 1972.

Art History:

Roh, Franz. *German Art in the 20th Century*. Trans. Catherine Hutter; Ed. Julia Phelps. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1968.

Music History:

Grout, Donald Jay. *A History of Western Music*. Rev. ed. New York: Norton, 1973.

Honolka, Kurt. *Das vielstimmige Jahrhundert: Musik in unserer Zeit*. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1960.

APPENDIX II

COURSE SYLLABUS

Week 1 UNIT I Overview (*Perspektiven I* [PI], *Konfrontationen mit Deutschland*, Madison Collective, 1975)
PI, 1-10 Geographical Overview, German Language;
11-23 A Trip through Germany and Austria;
Week 2 25-35 Newspapers, Schools in the FRG and GDR;
36-46 Political Parties in the FRG and GDR;
47-60 GDR, Austria, Switzerland;
Week 3 62-74 Historical Overview (to 19th century);
75-85 Historical Overview (to 1945);
Discussion and Test I.

Week 4 UNIT II 1871-1918 Imperial Germany

- Historical Background, 1871-1918;
- "Gründerzeit" vs. Naturalism in Painting, Literature, Architecture, and Music;
- Vienna at the Turn-of-the-Century;
- Week 5 Thomas Mann, Franz Kafka, Hermann Hesse, and their Worlds;
- Student Reports;
- Discussion and Test II.

Week 6 UNIT III 1918-1933 Weimar Republic

- Expressionism in Painting, Music, and Literature;
- 1918-1933 Historical Background;
- Caricatures of the Weimar Republic (slide lecture);
- Week 7 Theater of the Twenties (Brecht, Piscator);
- The Bauhaus 1919-1933;
- German Film of the Twenties;
- Week 8 Student Report and Test III.

UNIT IV 1933-1945 Third Reich

- Historical Background, 1933-1945;
- Caricatures of the Third Reich (slide lecture);
- Week 9 Arts in the Third Reich;
- Student Report and Test IV.

UNIT V 1945-1975 Postwar Germany

- Historical Background 1945-1961;
- Week 10 Historical Background 1961-1975;
- Influence of Brecht in the FRG and GDR;
- Student Reports and Test V.

Final In contrast to the five identification unit tests, the final provides an opportunity to synthesize in longer essay questions some of the material covered in the course. One question must be answered in German.

APPENDIX III

SOME TOPICS FOR STUDENT REPORTS

UNIT II

1. Origins and history of the SPD, Germany's oldest political party, to the present.
2. Wagner's concept of the "Gesamtkunstwerk" as an outgrowth of "Gründerzeit" in Germany.
3. Sigmund Freud and Vienna at the turn-of-the-century.

UNIT III

4. Erwin Piscator and the documentary theater of the 20's.
5. The year of transition 1918/19: options for the new German state (problems and forces at work).
6. German documentary film of the 20's.

UNIT IV

7. The Nazi concept of "entartete Kunst" (decadent art) in literature, music, and painting.
8. Famous Nazi artists: Riefenstahl, Speer, or other "Blut und Boden" artists.

UNIT V

9. *Frankfurter Allgemeine* and *Neues Deutschland*: a contrast of the treatment of recent news items.
10. Reporting on the "German question" in *Der Spiegel*, 1961.
11. Contemporary German films and filmmakers: Fassbinder and the Young German Film.

WALTER KEMPOWSKI: ZEIT- UND KULTURGESCHICHTE AUS DEM ZETTELKASTEN

Henrich Brockhaus
Western Washington State College

"Onkel Richard erzählte von Hitler. Stahlharter Händedruck, Augen wie Friedrich der Grosse. Wir ahnten ja gar nicht, was der Mann für Vorräte angelegt habe. Den Krieg, den hielten wir noch Jahre um Jahre durch. Gewaltig. Alle Turnhallen in Polen beschlagnahmt. Büchse auf Büchse, ganze Türme". Flüsternd fährt er fort: "demnächst gehe es wieder aufwärts. Er wisse das aus absolut sicherer Quelle. Die ganze Kraft des Reiches werde konzentriert, um noch in diesem Jahr die Entscheidung zu erzwingen. Ein einziger, gewaltiger Schlag. Tausende von Panzern. Im Osten. Die Welt werde erzittern". "Dass mein Bruder 'Gobiles' statt 'Goebbels' sagte, verdross ihn".[1]

Hier haben wir in prägnanter Form die Beschreibung einer Zeit, in der Zeitung und Radio nur ungenau über militärische Misserfolge berichten, Gefühl und Gerücht hingegen das Erhoffte bestätigen müssen. Wir erkennen weiterhin das leicht krampfhaft wirkende Festhalten an der Unfehlbarkeit eines Mannes, dem sich der Erfolg zu versagen beginnt, wie auch die beginnende Relativierung eines Systems in der fehlenden Ehrfurcht vor dem Namen einer Parteigrösse. Der Widerspruch in der Aussage, dass man noch jahrelang aushalten könne - dies klingt mehr nach Niederlage als nach Sieg - und dass dieses Jahr die Entscheidung erzwungen werden soll, lässt uns auf innre Zweifel des Sprechers schliessen. Die Glorifizierung, wenn nicht Mythologisierung einer doch menschlich begrenzten Führerpersönlichkeit lässt andererseits eine sehr weitgehende Bereitschaft zum Weiterkämpfen vermuten.

In diesen wenigen Zeilen werden Zusammenhänge und Gefühlswelten aufgezeigt, die in einem Geschichtswerk nur als Hintergrund viel weniger überzeugend angedeutet und beschrieben werden. Dem Leser einen direkten Zugang zum Zeitgeist dieser ganz bestimmten Epoche zu verschaffen, ist die besondere Gabe des jungen, in der Bundesrepublik lebenden Lehrers und Schriftstellers Walter Kempowski. Das Lesepublikum weiss es ihm auch zu danken: Kempowski gehört zu den meistgelesenen deutschen Autoren der Gegenwart. Den Buchausgaben von "Tadellöser & Wolff" (1971 erschienen) und "Uns geht's ja noch gold"[2] (1972) sind inzwischen die Taschenausgaben gefolgt. "Tadellöser" ist ausserdem als verbilligte Sonderausgabe erhältlich. Das Erstlingswerk "Im Block"[3] war bereits 1969 erschienen, damals nicht besonders gut angekommen, ist jedoch 1975 in revidierter Form als "Ein Kapitel für sich"[4] neu aufgelegt worden.

Kempowskis Plan ist es, einen "Familienroman" der Kempowskis in fünf Bänden zu schreiben. "Tadellöser & Wolff" setzt mit dem Jahr 1939 ein, kurz vor Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkrieges. "Uns geht's ja noch gold" beschreibt die Besatzungszeit in der Ostzone. Es endet mit Walters Verhaftung im Jahr 1948, der sich nach dem Westen abgesetzt hatte, unklugerweise aber zu einem Besuch in seine Heimatstadt Rostock zurückgekehrt war. "Ein Kapitel für sich" behandelt die Gefängnisjahre 1948-1956, wo Walters Mutter und sein Bruder Robert, die man ebenfalls verhaftet hatte, als zusätzliche fiktive Erzähler auftreten. Ungeschrieben ist noch Band 4, der bis 1960 geht und Band 5, der mit dem Auftreten der ersten Hippies enden soll.[5] Wie bei den "Buddenbrooks" findet auch in Kempowskis Romanen eine Entwicklung statt, die aber über den Familienzerfall zu deren Wiederaufstieg führt. Auch hier ist die Handlung in dem Milieu des gehobenen Mittelstandes angesiedelt. Sie ist jedoch stärker autobiographisch fundiert, auch wenn Kempowski darauf hinweist, dass er sich selbst konsequent auslasse, Zuschauer der Szenerie sei, während Thomas Mann doch recht gründlich kommentiere.[6] Nirgendwo zählt Kempowski Ursachen auf; selten nennt er Gründe für das Auftreten bestimmter Ereignisse; nie versucht er, mit ein paar zusammenraffenden Sätzen Zusammenhänge herzustellen.[7] Hier wird mit manischer "Detailbesessenheit"[8] aus "Erinnerungstrümmern",[9] aus "epischen Schnappschüssen"[10] und "scharf belichteten Momentaufnahmen",[11] aus "Erzähl-Splitterchen"[12] und "Mosaiksteinchen"[13] ein Buch zusammengesetzt.

Es liegt auf der Hand, dass ein Erzähler, der nicht erzählt, nicht reflektiert, sehr viel mehr Material verarbeiten kann und muss, um 400 bis 500 Seiten pro Band zu füllen. Wo findet er dieses Material? In einem Gespräch mit Volker Hage[14] weist Kempowski darauf hin, dass er im Zuchthaus in den Jahren 1948 bis 1956 reichlich Zeit hatte, über die Vergangenheit, die Nazizeit, das Elternhaus nachzudenken, als eine Art Gedächtnistraining. Später hat er dann sein Erinnerungen niedergeschrieben: jeden Einfall auf einen Zettel. Es wurden aber auch andere Quellen benutzt: z.B. von Mutter und Bruder besprochene Tonbänder, Fotos und Skizzen, Familienbriefe usw.[15]

Das Resultat ist frappierend: "Mitlebende dieser Jahre erkennen plötzlich, wie sehr ihre eigenen Erfahrungen zeittypische, generationstypische gewesen sind".[16] Hinzukommt, dass es sich bei der Erzähl- und Berichttechnik des Autors, wie Jost Nolte feststellt, um eine Sprachtechnik handelt.[17] Kempowski selbst spricht vom "Familienton".[18] Es ist dann auch über die Sprache, über das Inventar sich immer wiederholender Redensarten und Redeweisen, dass nun zu den Erinnerungen des Lesers an eigene Erfahrungen sich zusätzlich ein gefühlsmässiger Zugang zu einer heute doch weit zurückliegenden Vergangenheit eröffnet, wie, natürlich, ein besseres Verständnis für die Akteure der Kempowskischen Romane. Bei der Übereinstimmung von Gefühlslage und eigenem Erleben zwischen Leser und Bericht, stellt sich unwillkürlich die Überzeugung ein, dass das Geschriebene geschichtliche Wahrheit sein muss. Die Hauptaufgabe dieser Arbeit ist es darum, einige wichtige Lebensgebiete und -erfahrungen, die Kempowski bringt, anzudeuten. Handelt es sich tatsächlich um einen echten Zugang zu einer geschichtlichen Epoche, einem in der Vergangenheit liegenden Kulturabschnitt? Da für uns heute die Jahre der Naziherrschaft mit ihren Folgen von unübersehbarer Bedeutung sind, andererseits aber völlig unverständlich, möchte ich mich bei meiner Untersuchung gerade auf diese konzentrieren und mich auf "Tadellösser & Wolff" beschränken.

Beginnen wir mit der Sprache! Ausdrücke und Ausdrucksweisen wie: "Immerhinque", "ansage mir frisch", Zitate aus Schiller und Morgenstern (Staunend liest's der anbetroffne Chef) charakterisieren den klassisch gebildeten Gymnasiasten. "Primig" und "allerhandlei" (allerhand und allerlei) sollen sprachliche Gewandtheit beweisen. Andere Ausdrücke erinnern an die Zeit beim Militär oder an den kaufmännischen Beruf des Vaters: "tadellos" wird zu "Tadellöser & Wolff".

In diesem Zusammenhang muss noch ein anderes Sprachmittel erwähnt werden, das Kempowski zur Ausmalung des Zeitbildes benutzt. Es handelt sich um die durch irgendwelche Gedankenassoziationen heraufbeschworenen Schlagwörter, Lieder oder Schlager. Neben vielem, das uns auch heute noch geläufig ist, taucht manches Vergessene auf: "Halt dir den Spiegel vors Gesicht / Bist du's oder bist du's nicht" (378) lässt vor unserem geistigen Auge die Karikatur des Energiesünders "Kohlenklau" erstehen.

Erschreckend ist es, wenn einige Wochen vor Kriegsschluss eine Gruppe Sechzehnjähriger geschlossen in die SS eintreten soll: "Dann kamen SS-Werber. Hell die Gläser klingen, / ein frohes Lied wir singen . . ." (448). Dieses muntere Seemannslied, das völlig in die unbeschwerte Wandervogelromantik zu passen scheint, spiegelt den unwahren Ton dieser Werbung wieder, der Krieg und Rassenpolitik zu einem fröhlichen kleinen Abenteuer verniedlichen will.

Am ergiebigsten für den Leser sind natürlich direkte Beschreibungen oder beiläufige Erwähnungen damaliger Zustände und Verhältnisse. Es würde zu weit führen, auf alles einzugehen, was so nach und nach berührt wird, doch einige Hauptgebiete sollen hier gennant werden, besonders wenn sie in der damaligen Form heute nicht mehr existieren. Da ist z.B. das Familien- und Klassenbewusstsein. Die Mutter hält sich etwas darauf zugute, von einer Hugenottenfamilie zu stammen, während den unordentlichen Söhnen gern vorgehalten wird, dass dies das Polnische aus der Familie des Vaters sei.

Während die Mutter sonntags in der Küche wirtschaftet, macht der Vater mit seinen Söhnen einen Spaziergang: "Die rechte Hand auf dem Rücken, in der linken den Spazierstock führend, mal nach vorn und mal nach hinten. Da er viele Leute kannte, zog er dauernd den Hut" (21). Es geht hier weniger darum, sich Bewegung zu verschaffen, als vielmehr zu grüssen oder gegrüsst zu werden. Man ist doch wer!

Da man zum gehobenen Mittelstand gehört, dürfen die Geschwister in den Jachtklub eintreten, ohne dass sie sich jedoch weiss einkleiden dürfen: man gehört ja nicht zur Oberschicht.

Noblesse oblige: dem Kutscher Boldt, der nur RM 36,- die Woche verdient, bringt Walter regelmässig die angestossenen Zigarren seines Vaters. Die soziale Rangordnung wird also noch ohne weiteres von beiden Seiten akzeptiert.

Kempowski lässt es sich nicht nehmen, auch die Kleidung genaustens zu beschreiben, die durch eintretende Rohstoffverknappung verursachten neuen Moden, bis hin zu den Holzschuhen mit geteilter Sohle gegen Ende des Krieges.

Ein weiteres ergiebiges Gebiet ist der Bereich der Wohnkultur. Hier wird das für die Zeit Typische vermerkt: die Alabasterschale der Schlafzimmerlampe, das klickende Minutenlicht im Treppenhaus, das Herrenzimmer mit den schweren Sesseln, dem Rauchtisch, der Fliegenschrank im Keller, usw.

Von besonderem Interesse ist für uns auch die damals herrschende "Stadtkultur", da diese durch die Kriegseinwirkungen recht plötzlich, dann später, besonders in der Bundesrepublik, durch ein relativ lange anhaltendes Wirtschaftswunder nach und nach verlorengegangen ist, oder für Touristenzwecke etwas märchenhaft verbrämt und "verschönt", auf jeden Fall anders, neu erstand. Auch hier summieren sich Einzelbeobachtungen zu einem Gesamteindruck: Sonntagspromenade mit Platzkonzert, buchsbaumbestandene Wege, die niemand mehr geht und Vorgärten mit abgeschweissten Gittern, die als Alteisen in der Rüstungsindustrie ihre Verwertung fanden; das Kriegerdenkmal der 90er (Nr. eines Regimentes) neben der "gotischen" Hauptpost usf.

In diesem Zusammenhang erwähnenswert ist auch das moderne Lyzeum, das früher ohne Dach "der Kasten" genannt wurde, inzwischen jedoch mit einem Spitzdach versehen worden war, um das "Artfremde" zu beseitigen. Dies ist lebender Anschauungsunterricht für die totale Einflussnahme des Nationalsozialismus auf allen Lebensgebieten: in diesem Fall, die Auseinandersetzung mit der Bauhausgruppe.

Was Kempowski über die Schule zu sagen hat, findet man auch bei anderen Autoren. Pennälerromane sind ja nichts Neues. Aufschlussreicher für das Verständnis der Zeit sind die Bezüge auf Jungvolk und Hitlerjugend. Mit der Schule hat man sich akkomodiert: mittwochs und samstags gibt es keine Hausaufgaben, weil dann Dienst ist. Andererseits wird erwartet, dass jeder Pimpf und jeder Hitlerjunge ein guter Schüler ist. Teilaufgabe des Dienstes ist für Ordnung, Sauberkeit und innere Zucht zu sorgen. Das wird auch von der Bevölkerung so verstanden. Als sich Walter z.B. über einen Erwachsenen lustig macht, reagiert dieser sehr ärgerlich: "Wie mein Hitlerführer heisse, der würde sich freuen, wenn er erfahre, was ich für ein sauberes Bürschchen sei" (354).

Es werden zwei wichtige Seiten des Dienstes gezeigt: In der Nachfolge der Wandervogelbewegung und der Pfadfinderei singt man Natur-, Wander- und romantische Kriegslieder ("Wildgänse rauschen durch die

Nacht"), gibt es Abende mit Lagerfeuer, Gedichten und Spielen; um den politisch-militärischen Ehrgeiz mancher Führer zu befriedigen, wird fleissig marschiert und geschliffen. Bezeichnend ist bei letzterem die Reaktion der Bevölkerung: "Im nahen Finanzamt schloss man wegen des Lärms die Fenster, alte Frauen setzten sich woanders hin" (51). Wenn einem etwas nicht passt, geht man einfach ein Stück weiter, oder man schliesst, wie hier die Beamtenwelt, die Fenster, stopft sich sozusagen die Ohren zu, arbeitet aber fleissig weiter. Hierfür wird man ja bezahlt, und man ist ja letztlich nicht zuständig für das, was unten auf der Strasse passiert, zumal es ja auch nicht direkt verkehrt ist.

Für unser Verständnis jener Zeit sind die vielen politisch-historischen und ideologischen Bezüge von grösster Wichtigkeit. Jedem, der während des Krieges nicht in Deutschland lebte, werden gerade diese Jahre, wo obendrein eine totale Nachrichtensperre herrschte, völlig unverständlich sein. Wer sich anhand der Geschichtsschreibung ein Bild über die damalige Zeit machen will, sich hierbei über die Schrecken des totalen Krieges informiert, über die unvorstellbare Missachtung und Massenvernichtung menschlichen Lebens, kann doch nur zu dem Schluss kommen, dass hier eine ganze Gesellschaft im Gleichschritt marschierte, dass jeder Einzelne nichts Anderes kannte, als den dauernden, rücksichtslosen Einsatz ("Führer befiehl, wir folgen dir"). Es ist darum überraschend zu lesen, wie wenig gleichgeschaltet das deutsche Volk im Grunde war; überraschend für den, der nicht weiss, dass die "Partei" sich eigentlich nur auf eine Volksgruppe stützte, nämlich auf die untere Mittelklasse. Auch wenn sie sich Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei nannte, standen die Arbeiter abseits, wie auch Oberschicht und der gehobene Mittelstand. Auch wenn der Vater sich gern in der SA-Uniform fotografieren liess, Walter in seiner Jungvolkkluft, waren beide doch keine Anhänger des Systems. Viele, die äusserlich mitmachten, hörten im Geheimen fleissig die Sendungen des BBC.

Nicht zu unterschätzen ist der Einfluss einer verklärten militärischen Vergangenheit, die Kempowski immer wieder aufklingen lässt, an die Hitler scheinbar auch anknüpfte. Deutlich wird auch, wie man bereit ist, Diskriminierungen hinzunehmen, auch wenn man sie selbst nicht aktiv fördert. Ein gegen "dekadente" amerikanische Einflüsse gerichtetes Schild im Tanzsaal, "Swings tanzen verboten" (28), wurde genauso akzeptiert, wie der Hinweis im Lesecafé "Juden unerwünscht" (28). Wie sehr diese Dinge dem Menschen doch letztlich in Fleisch und Blut übergehen, kann man bei der Mutter sehen, die keine Antisemitin war, aber doch beim Anblick eines dicken Mannes flüstern musste: "I gitt, . . . wie so'n dicker jüdischer Spion" (75).

Eine erstaunliche Rolle spielt Hitler in den Köpfen der Leute. Man sieht ihn völlig unwirklich, ungenau und verklärt. Jede positive Entwicklung wird ihm irgendwie zugeschrieben. Der Lehrer Hannes ist Mitglied des Vereins für Rostocker Altertümer und erklärt seiner Klasse: "Die Stadtmauer werde renoviert, ob wir das schon gesehen hätten . . . 'Fabelhaft, wie der Hitler das macht'. . . . Wir könnten stolz und froh sein, das alles mitzuerleben" (40). Gegen Kriegsende heisst es dann aber plötzlich bei vielen: "Sie seien schon längst nicht mehr für Hitler" (467). Recht merkwürdig klingt es auch, wenn die Mutter jetzt feststellt: "den Krieg haben wir gewonnen! Die Kirche und die guten Kräfte!" (475). Als ob man aktiv an der Herbeiführung des Sieges mitgewirkt habe.

"Einübung ins Bürgertum" überschreibt Heinz Ludwig Arnold sein Kapitel über "Tadellöser & Wolff".[19] Auch er unterstreicht damit, dass uns das Bürgertum, und zwar das gehobene, wie wir gesehen haben, vor Augen geführt wird, ein Bürgertum mit all seinen Stärken und Schwächen. Kempowski eröffnet uns damit einen echten Zugang zu dem, was damals Deutschland war, zumindest ein wesentlicher Bestandteil desselben. Wir begreifen, wie sich das Bürgertum letztlich selbst lebte, wie es mit den ihm eigenen Tugenden dem Staate diente, wie es sich national gebärdete, aber nicht politisch engagierte, und wie all dies dem Nazismus einen ungeheuren Spielraum einräumte. Es ist das Erschütternde, wie sich das Entsetzliche der Judenverfolgung ereignen konnte, ohne dass die Masse damit aktiv in Berührung kam, besonders nicht mit dem, was als Endlösung verbrochen wurde. Für die meisten ging das Leben seinen normalen, ja banalen Gang weiter. Man hatte genug damit zu tun, sich den immer schwieriger werdenden äusseren Umständen anzupassen. In dem Fortsetzungsband "Uns geht's ja noch gold" wird die recht typische Reaktion der Bevölkerung auf die Konfrontierung mit den Nazigreueln angedeutet: Der Durchschnittsbürger war erst einmal abweisend, alles sei nur Lüge. Dann überkam ihn ein Schock, wobei er sich aber auch nicht des Gefühls erwehren konnte, das Ganze sei eine Zumutung, man hätte ja selbst nie ein Verbrechen begangen, ja selbst manchmal Ärger mit den Nazis gehabt.

Hier ergibt sich die Erkenntnis, dass die Gesellschaft in Deutschland, von innen gesehen, relativ normal wirkte, dass aber im Zuge einer Ideologie, wenn sie auch nur von einer Minderheit völlig ernst genommen wurde, die schrecklichsten Dinge passieren konnten. Das Furchtbare am Menschen scheint also nicht der Mensch selbst zu sein, sondern die Idee, die er glaubt durchsetzen zu müssen. Dies ist natürlich etwas, was dem Historiker nichts Neues sein dürfte.

Kempowskis Bücher sind für uns als Deutschlehrer nicht nur als Literatur von Bedeutung, sondern auch durch den direkten Zugang, den sie uns zur deutschen Kultur, dem deutschen Leben, den Sitten und Gebräuchen verschaffen. Wie weit kann nun ein Ausländer diese Bücher wirklich mit Gewinn lesen, wenn er viele Anspielungen einfach nicht versteht? Kempowski sieht dies nicht als ein unüberwindbares Hindernis und meint auf eine diesbezügliche Frage: "Man kann ja auch Fremdsprachen lernen".[20] Sicher wird eines Tages ein englischer Germanist das eine oder andere Buch für den Collegebetrieb vorbereiten und jede kleinste Einzelheit in der Fussnote erklären. Unterdessen können jedoch die Bücher Kempowskis allen empfohlen werden, die bereit sind, auf eine absolute geschichtliche Wahrheit zu warten, die sich aber andererseits schon jetzt einen Zugang zu einem nicht zu weit zurückliegenden Deutschland, ein Verständnis für die damals in Deutschland lebenden Menschen verschaffen wollen. Ohne uns mit der Vergangenheit auseinanderzusetzen, werden wir die Gegenwart nur schlecht verstehen.

Notes

[1] Walter Kempowski, Tadellöser & Wolff (München: Hanser, 1971), S. 289f. Alle weiteren Zitate aus diesem Buch werden im Text direkt ausgewiesen und zwar wird nur die Seitenzahl angegeben.

[2] Kempowski, Uns geht's ja noch gold (München: Hanser, 1972).

[3] Kempowski, Im Block (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1969).

[4] Kempowski, Ein Kapitel für sich (München: Hanser, 1975).

[5] Volker Hage und Walter Kempowski, "Eine Art Gedächtnistraining," Akzente, 19 (1972), S. 346.

[6] Hage und Kempowski, S. 340.

[7] Franz Josef Görtz, "Walter Kempowski als Historiker," Akzente, 20 (1973), S. 253.

[8] Helmut Scheffel, "Heilig Vaterland, in Gefahren," Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 30. März 1971.

[9] Hartmut Scheible: "Splitter aus der Wunde Vergangenheit," Frankfurter Rundschau, 17. April 1971.

[10] Rolf Becker, "Herr Hitler müsse es wissen," Der Spiegel (Hamburg), 20. April 1971.

[11] Jost Nolte, "Ein Milieu und seine Wahrheit," Die Welt der Literatur (Hamburg), 18. Februar 1971, aus Heinz Ludwig Arnold, Hrsg., Geschichte der deutschen Literatur aus Methoden, (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1973), III, 69.

[12] Werner Ross, "Scharfe Schnappschüsse," Die Zeit (Hamburg), 9. April 1971.

[13] S. Anm. 8. Anmerkungen 8, 9, 10 und 12 nach Görtz, "Walter Kempowski als Historiker," S. 245.

[14] Hage und Kempowski, S. 342.

[15] Görtz, S. 246.

[16] Ingeborg Drewitz, "Prosa aus dem Zettelkasten," Neue Rundschau, 84 (1973), S. 172.

[17] Nolte, S. 70.

[18] Hage und Kempowski, S. 342.

[19] Heinz Ludwig Arnold, Brauchen wir noch die Literatur? (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann, 1972), S. 195-97.

[20] Hage und Kempowski, S. 344.

PRINCIPLES OF SYSTEMATIC VOCABULARY EXPANSION IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

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This paper deals with problems of vocabulary acquisition at an intermediate and advanced level. The discussion will focus on some basic questions concerning the theoretical framework and the practical approaches that make possible a rapid and systematic expansion of the student's foreign language vocabulary. Most examples will be taken from French and Spanish. The presentation assumes that the student already has a core vocabulary of anywhere between 700 and 1200 words; it is further assumed that the long-range goal, for a period of 3 to 4 years of college instruction or its equivalent, is a productive or active vocabulary of 4000 to 5000 words and a receptive or passive vocabulary of about double that number.[1] No pretense is made to offer entirely new ways of teaching vocabulary. In fact, the question may not be so much to find new ways to teach vocabulary, but rather to teach our students how to learn words in a more efficient and more interesting way, and then to make sure that learning actually takes place.[2] Teaching cannot replace learning, a truism too easily forgotten in our age of pedagogical research and innovation.

The present study has grown out of the preparation for, and experiences gained from, a course recently established at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, taught for the first time this year. The course is a third-year, two-credit, independent study class designed to acquaint the students with the conceptual framework and the means and methods necessary for a rapid expansion of their active and passive vocabulary.

A six-week period, during which the students met with the instructor as a group, was devoted to a discussion and an illustrative application of theoretical concepts and methods. During the following six weeks, the students were asked to try out systematically the approach or approaches they preferred. The goal for that period was the acquisition of about 800 new words. During that time, the students met individually each week with the instructor to discuss specific problems and to have their progress checked. The last three weeks of the semester, when the students met again as a group, were spent mostly on a reconsideration of theory, a refocussing on the advantages and disadvantages of the major approaches, and a presentation, by each student, of the work performed during the preceding six weeks.

Initially, several students found it difficult to grasp underlying concepts or the implications of the various methods. Consequently too much time was spent on the discussion of theory. Furthermore, about half the students could not easily decide which method or methods to try out, and thus lost time for the practical application. Some students, on the other hand, were overly conscientious and pushed their "research" into the realm of truly esoteric terms, losing sight of important selection criteria such as frequency and applicability. On the whole, the course can nevertheless be deemed a success in terms of the original objectives: the students gained insight into the psychology of learning, especially the problem of coping with large masses of data and the need for learning discipline. Contrary to what their apprehensions about the boredom of vocabulary learning might have been, they also seemed, after a while, to consider the proposed approaches intellectually stimulating and rewarding as well as practically applicable and useful. And all learned a significant amount of new vocabulary.[3]

For most foreign language programs, a good, solid knowledge of vocabulary is as necessary and desirable as a knowledge of pronunciation and grammar. Yet vocabulary is often neglected in the classroom. There seem to be three major reasons for this neglect. One is that learning by rote has fallen into discredit with many teachers and students. As a consequence, students are no longer required to memorize words and their meaning. They are no longer shown those few simple techniques of how to set up word lists, what information to enter in them, how to go about the task of memorization and systematic review. Another factor closely related to the first seems to be the unwillingness on the part of many students to submit themselves to some minimal vocabulary learning discipline. The excuse with students and teachers is all too often that memorization is boring, not "creative," "no fun." But: does everything have to be fun? Are there not, in the acquisition of any skill, phases of mechanical exercise? Moreover: does vocabulary learning necessarily have to be boring? The discredit of learning by rote and the lack of discipline are problems rooted in attitudes. Their solution lies in corresponding changes of attitude towards which all foreign language instructors, or rather teachers in all disciplines, should work.

A third factor is the apparent lack of structure of the lexicon itself. To the student, the lexicon of a foreign language seems to consist of a practically unlimited number of words. There are typically arranged in an alphabetical, that is to say in a semantically non-pertinent order in dictionaries or glossaries, thousands and thousands of words more or less unrelated to each other, and frequently having several meanings that themselves seem surprisingly unrelated. The prospect of having to digest somehow thousands of such isolated problems is frightening indeed. Here, in the apparent lack of inherent structure, I see the fundamental problem. The solution would then be to structure for the student the lexicon of the language he is trying to acquire, or demonstrate how he, the individual student, can and must structure the vocabulary in such a way that words are related to other words, and that he can choose from among various structuring approaches those he prefers to work with and that best seem to fit his particular needs and abilities.[4]

Three assumptions form the basis of the proposed solution: one, that the learning of elements A, B, and C is far easier if the learner can associate them in his mind opposed to his not being able to perceive any connection between them; two, that the individual act of ordering the vocabulary according to associative structures is intellectually stimulating and creative; and three, that the experience and prospect of intellectual stimulation and creativity itself encourages and facilitates the actual learning.[5]

Lexical or "word-to-word" association is the key concept of the solution proposed here rather than the "word-to-image/object" association usually advocated in studies dealing with the teaching of vocabulary. For a rapid and systematic expansion of vocabulary, relying on the latter type of association would be too slow, too complicated and often not feasible at all with abstract terms, for instance, whose relative percentage is likely to increase following the initial phases of study. Learning, through association, the concept of "word-to-word" association emphasizes and develops the individual's power to establish meaningful connections between vocabulary items. For didactic purposes, three basic types of lexical association can be distinguished. Within each type, a few concepts form the theoretical basis for practical learning approaches. As most of these are well-known, a brief summary may suffice here.

The most general associative concept is that of "semantic field."[6] A "semantic field" could be defined as a group of words that all relate to, and serve to describe, a certain segment of our world, for instance family relationships, means of transportation, colors, plants, animals, the human body, sports, etc.[7] Semantic fields can be shown to reflect logical structures, or the attempt, by the human mind, to grasp "reality" in logical terms, and cultural structures insofar as "reality" may be segmented and even perceived differently by the various cultures (for example, Eskimo has a great number of terms for snow according to color, texture, firmness, temperature, etc.). For practical purposes, a semantic field could be viewed as consisting of core terms (for example nouns denoting means of transportation) and secondary terms (for example, verbs corresponding to these means of transportation).

"Synonym" and "antonym" provide two other, potentially very productive learning tools, especially for more advanced students. They point to a more restricted type of association through meaning, the possibility, for the student, to learn together words that are semantic equivalents or opposites. Unlike semantic fields, synomyn/antonym series usually contain only words of the same grammatical category. Synonyms are frequently misinterpreted by students as "words with identical meaning." A discussion of the concepts "denotation" and "connotation" helps to correct this view, as does an illustrative demonstration of methods of "semantic micro-analysis" identifying which aspect or aspects of the general meaning are shared by all terms of a synonym series and which are particular to the individual term.[8] The synonym/antonym approach can logically be integrated into the semantic field approach. It would then expand "horizontally" certain terms of the essentially "vertically" structured semantic field. Whether such an integration of the two methods is pedagogically desirable seems questionable, however.

The most general type of formal association is the one that connects words sharing the same "root." This method can profitably be applied to Greek and Latin loan words, especially in the international vocabulary of science or technology, but, not, of course, limited to them. The recognition of the root may be as easy as in *trabajar - trabajo*; *contar - cuento/cuenta* or more difficult as in *llano - (alti)plano* or, in French, *père - patrie*, *louer - loyer*. At a more advanced level, a discussion of complex historical changes that have produced related, yet very dissimilar words like, in French, *sire - seigneur - (mon)sieur* or in Spanish *caudal - capital* will serve to heighten the students' awareness not only of such formal relationships, but also of the historical evolution of the language. An interesting pedagogical problem of the root approach is that of "false etymologies" or mere formal resemblances, such as: *langue - languir* or *poupe - poupée*. Frequently, the differences in meaning will reduce the number of such associations or draw the student's attention to the etymological difference itself. On the other hand, an effective memory association may very well develop through, or in spite of, these false etymologies. A natural extension of the etymology and root approach is the suffix/prefix approach which prodûces either series centered around the same root like *barca - embarcar - embarcación - embarcadero - embarcador*," etc. or series illustrating the same derivational device such as *liberar - liberación*; *nominar - nominación*; *adorar - adoración*; *rendir - rendición*, etc. The root and prefix/suffix approaches combined are capable of producing "word families," i.e. groups of words all built around the same position such as, in French or Spanish, the V - N type like *lave-vaisselle*, *ouvre-boîte*, *bire-bouchon* or *limpiabotas*, *limpiadientes*, *parachoques*, or in German the N - N type with series like *Waldblume*, *Feldblume*, *Eisblume*, etc.

These three subtypes of association through form are easily incorporated into one approach. As an illustrative device, in the hands of the teacher, the integrated formal approach can be extremely useful; as a learning device, in the hands of the student, it might be too powerful in the sense that it tends to lead to word series too far from--and too detailed for--the student's needs and handling capacity.

The association through co-occurrence seems to be the most difficult for students to master. It requires a rather good over-all knowledge of the language, extensive reading experience, and a passive vocabulary that is already fairly broad. Co-occurrences of words are subject to grammatical or lexical limitations, or both (as in the case of *saber - conocer*). Whereas grammatical limitations may play a very important role in learning the correct usage of words, I would like to limit my argument here to the lexical limitations or preferences. Three concepts may help to clarify what is meant by "association through co-occurrence."

The concept "usage" refers to certain co-occurrences of words preferred by the speakers of the language over other combinations. For instance, in French, the combination *gravement malade* seems to be preferred over *sérieusement malade* or *une jolie jeune fille* over *une belle jeune fille*. The concept is, however, not without pitfalls. Certain frequent co-occurrences may be the result of temporary fashion only, which would make them relatively uninteresting from a pedagogical standpoint. Also, as a scientific term, "usage" is problematical because it does not refer to what could be called a "discrete phenomenon," but to a segment, not clearly definable, in that *continuum* which ranges from totally free to totally lexicalized word combinations. A similar remark applies to the concept "norm," which describes lexical structures like fixed or idiomatic expressions, proverbs, and so on (*laide à faire peur*, *dormir à poings fermés*, *A bon entendeur*, *salut*). For these are word co-occurrences that, over a long period of time, have become permanent and more or less unalterable.[10] The concept "stylistic value" finally is of great importance as it points to the fact that words have different situational values (*atar - vincular*, *fallecer - morir*, *s'en aller - ficher le camp*). Not all words may co-occur in actual speech, even if they belong to the same semantic field of synonym series or share the same root. The student needs to know the particular value of a word. He must learn which words he may, and which he may not use together. To help him "situate" words, the broad, empirical distinction of four stylistic categories--slang familiar, formal, technical--is probably adequate in an undergraduate foreign language program.[11]

As a tool for the expansion of vocabulary, the association through co-occurrence is more limited in its applicability than the other two types of association. However, it plays an important role as a regulative or corrective device by drawing the student's attention to the fact that words and word combinations, too, represent material pre-determined, by convention, in its meaning, value, and combinability.

In addition to individual interests and abilities, learning objectives of a particular foreign language class or program as defined by age group, proficiency level, skill specialization, etc., determine which approach or subapproaches can most profitably be used and to what degree of detail the instructor wants the students to go in their investigation and memorization of word associations. It should be remembered that the analysis and reconstruction of a semantic field, a synonym/antonym series or a word family is a means towards more efficient vocabulary learning, not an end in itself. The ideal is not lexical completeness, which is all but impossible to attain, but strings of words that are useful and easily associated with each other. It would seem that with the possible exception of association through co-occurrence, all approaches, after some adaptation, be used fruitfully at all levels of language instruction.

The approaches suggested here seem to disregard one of the fundamental articles of faith found in the pertinent literature, namely that words should not (never?) be learned out of context. There are some good reasons for this stipulation.[12] A "word-to-text" association is often very helpful, even indispensable. And yet, for the intermediate and advanced learning stages, the importance of "context" seems to be grossly exaggerated, to the detriment of a systematic expansion of vocabulary. Contexts simply do not occur systematically. Two considerations should be borne in mind: one is the distinction between "syntagmatic" (i.e. the oral or written text) and "non-syntagmatic" contexts (i.e. the semantically relevant contexts provided by semantic fields, synonym/antonym series or word families). The latter type of context may be as helpful as the former for the learning of new words.[13] The second consideration is that this word-to-text association may actually prevent a given word from becoming part of the student's productive vocabulary. By associating it closely with a specific context, the student may have serious difficulties "recalling" the word when a different context "calls" for its use. In other words, an initial word-to-text memory link may very well have to be weakened or even annulled for a word to become readily available.

A concrete, authentic text will frequently be the source of words and expressions which serve as points of departure for a systematic expansion. On the other hand, it may be appropriate on occasion to have students work on vocabulary expansion without a concrete text as starting point (although the instructor must tie in the students' work on such projects with other learning material used in class). The semantic field approach and, to a lesser degree, the synonym/antonym and the prefix/suffix approaches lend themselves to such expansion *in vacuo*. The student should, however, not be asked to learn words directly out of glossaries, dictionaries, or word lists furnished by the instructor. Basic vocabulary lists perform a valuable service as a device of self-control. For efficient learning to take place, the selection of words, the association between them and the establishment of word lists must be the student's own responsibility.[14]

Notes

[1] My own experiences lead me to believe that the figures given by Robert Lado, *Language Teaching. A Scientific Approach* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 117 are somewhat too conservative, certainly in Spanish, most probably in German, perhaps not to the same degree in French. See also Georges Matoré, *Dictionnaire du vocabulaire essentiel. (Les 5000 mots fondamentaux)* (Paris: Larousse, 1963).

[2] The vocabulary teaching method proposed for example by Jerome C. Ford, "Analysis of a Particular Audio-Virual Method for Teaching French Vocabulary," *French Review*, 45 (1972), pp. 842-45 is as ingenious

as it is elaborate. But for the goal of vocabulary expansion it is unrealistic, just as is the advice one frequently hears "To teach a new word, you have to use it in meaningful contexts over and over again." Joseph Michel and Paul Patin, "Some Techniques for Teaching Vocabulary," *ERIC Focus Reports on the Teaching of Foreign Languages*, No. 27 (New York: MLA/ACTFL Materials Center, 1972) contains useful information for the teacher, some also on the problem of vocabulary expansion, but no attempt is made to systematize learning tools.

[3] In the final exam, besides some theoretical questions, students were given 110 words taken from their individual lists. The degree of retention at that time was quite acceptable, and in some cases excellent. Measurement of retention at later stages has, unfortunately, not been possible.

[4] For a detailed, linguistic (not pedagogical) discussion of lexical structures, see Eugenio Coseriu, "Lexical Structures and the Teaching of Vocabulary," *Linguistic Theories and their Application* (Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe, AIDELA, 1967), pp. 9-52, and the twelve responses to his exposé, pp. 53-90. Contrary to what the title promises, the teaching of vocabulary is however not discussed.

[5] See Frank M. Grittner, *Teaching Foreign Languages* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 158.

[6] The term "centre d'intérêt" sometimes used by French researchers seems to refer, at least partially, to the same concept; see, for example, Paul Rivenc, "Lexique et langue parlée," *Le Français dans le Monde*, 57 (June 1968), pp. 25-33, esp. p. 30.

[7] The definition is purposefully broad and includes properly "linguistic" associations (which are not necessarily only formal or etymological; see "father - paternal") as well as associations based upon the experience and understanding, by the linguistic community or the learning individual, of "reality," that is to say associations of things. Contrary to what Coseriu, *Lexical Structures* (note 4 above), p. 17f, seems to imply, such "assumed" associations are, for the learning process, extremely useful.

[8] See for example Robert Galisson, "L'enseignement du vocabulaire par les textes," *Le Français dans le Monde*, 50 (July-August 1967), pp. 39-44; also Robert Galisson, *L'Apprentissage systématique du vocabulaire* (Paris: Hachette, Larousse, 1970).

[9] For German, an excellent workbook based on the principle of formal association is available: Karl A. Schmidt, *Easy Ways to Enlarge Your German Vocabulary* (New York: Dover, 1974).

[10] Walter Hahn, "The Teaching of Grouped Idiomatic Expressions in French," *French Review*, 47 (1973), pp. 312-20 offers useful hints. One would wish that certain terms were more clearly defined, in particular "situational or semantic commonality," p. 314.

[11] For a very brief discussion of problems of definition and of attributing words to these categories, see Pierre Gilbert, "Différenciations lexicales," *Le Français dans le Monde*, 69 (December 1969), pp. 41-47, esp. pp. 45ff,; also Zygmunt Marzys, "Norme et usage en français contemporain," *Le Français dans le Monde*, 108 (October-November 1974), pp. 6-12.

[12] See, for example, Nelson Brooks, *Language and Language Learning: Theory and Practice*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1964), p. 182. A succinct criticism of the context argument can be found in Paul Grebe, ed., *Duden: Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* (Mannheim: Dudenverlag, 1959), p. 428f.

[13] Robert J. Hartwig, "Teaching French Vocabulary," *French Review*, 47 (1974), pp. 720-26 refers to this very possibility of using what I call here "non-syntagmatic" contexts"; see in particular p. 722f.

[14] I have experimented with word lists that combine the checklist function with that of a learning device: only the foreign words are listed, not their English equivalents; certain words are indexed "N," "V," "A" to indicate that the student should also know the corresponding noun(s), verb(s), or adjective(s). This procedure seems to be quite promising because it involves the student directly whenever the checking function demonstrates a gap in his knowledge and active learning becomes necessary.

GENERATIVE GRAMMAR AND DIALECT DIFFERENCES

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Linguists have attempted to describe differences between dialects of a language in a number of fashions. One view maintains that the elements of a linguistic system can be defined only in relation to the other elements. The consequence of this extreme view is the proposition that two dialects of Bulgarian, for example, are no more similar than a dialect of Bulgarian and a dialect of English. Another, more tenable, position insists that structural descriptions of each dialect must be developed before any comparisons are made.[1] This point of view shows promise. However, it compares descriptions resulting almost exclusively from an examination of primary data.

These attempts to characterize dialect differences ultimately fail because they do not provide any systematic basis for comparison. To be systematic in the required sense demands a basis of comparison more regular than the primary data, which may vary dramatically from dialect to dialect. Morris Halle and others have suggested that a more fruitful approach to describing dialectal differences must be grounded in a comparison of speakers' grammars, that is, in the set of generative rules necessary to characterize the primary data.[2] The grammars of speakers of different dialects may differ in the following ways: either the grammars will contain some different rules, some similar rules with slightly different environments, the same rules in different orders, or a combination of the above. As Halle has indicated, structural differences in only a single grammatical rule can result in surface differences of considerable magnitude. To illustrate this argument let us consider an example from Bulgarian.

Standard Literary Bulgarian (SLB)	Xvojnenski govor (XG)	Dorkovski podgovor (Cepinski govor) (DP)	Smoljanski[3] govor (SG)	
pъt	pъt	pât	pôt	'path'
mъš	mъs	mâs	môs	'man'
den	d'ъn	d'ân	d'ŏn	'day'
pet	p'ъt	p'ât	p'ŏt	'five'
bop	bop	bop	bop	'bean'

Taken in isolation, one might suppose that in each of the non-literary dialects the underlying vocalic phoneme is identical to the vowel which appears in the first four words listed. Thus, in the Xvojnenski govor, the Dorkovski podgovor, and the Smoljanski govor the underlying vowels would be /ъ/, /â/, and /ŏ/, respectively. Data from the literary language and the palatalization of certain consonants in each dialect, however, provide compelling reasons for believing that this analysis is incorrect. In addition, the notion of having a different underlying vowel in each dialect tends to obscure, rather than illuminate, the fact that these are dialects of the same language.

A more revealing approach is the view that the literary language and the non-literary dialects have the same underlying vowels. I will assume that in a synchronic description these underlying vowel segments are /u,i/ and /e/ in all dialects.[4]

The grammar of SG contains the following phonological rules:[5] (1) (e~i) e → i / C__NC; (2) (i~u) i → u; (3) (u~ъ) u → ъ.

These three rules, in addition to others which are not critical to the analysis, will account for the occurrence of [ъ] in XG. They are not sufficient, however, to describe what happens in the other dialects, DP and SG.

In DP /u,i and e/ merge as [â] , not as [ъ] . Consequently, a modification of the grammar is necessary. This phonological difference can be described if one supposes that, besides (1) - (3) above, the grammar of DP also contains rule (4) (ъ~â) ъ → [+low].

Finally, consider dialect SG where we encounter the monophothong [ŏ], described by Stojkov as "siroko o." The presence of this vowel can be predicted by positing a rule extremely similar to (4) above. Simply by changing a second distinctive feature (that of "labiality") in the description of (4) the correct surface vowel is realized.[6]

(4') (ъ → ŏ) ъ → $\begin{bmatrix}\text{+round}\\ \text{+low}\end{bmatrix}$

XG[7]

	put+u	mug+i	din+i	pent+i	bob+u
PAL.	-----	-----	d'in'i	p'ent'i	-----
1	-----	-----	-----	p'int'	-----
2	-----	-----	d'un'	p'unt'	-----
3	pъt	mъzi	d'ъn'	p'ъnt'	-----
(N-Ø)	-----	-----	-----	p'ъt'	-----
	pъt	mъs	d'ъn	p't	bop

DP	put+u	mug+i	din+i	pent+i	bob+u
PAL.	-----	muž'i	d'in'i	p'ent'i	-----
1	-----	-----	-----	p'int'	-----
2	-----	-----	d'un'	p'unt'	-----
3	pɤt	mɤž'	d'ɤn'	p'ɤnt'	-----
4	pɑt	mɑž'	d'ɑn'	p'ɑnt'	-----
(N~0)	-----	-----	-----	p'ɑt'	-----
	[pɑt]	[mɑš]	[d'ɑn]	[p'ɑt]	[bop]

SG	put+u	mug+i	din+i	pent+i	bob+u
PAL.	-----	muž'i	d'in'	p'ent'i	-----
1	-----	-----	-----	p'int'	-----
2	-----	-----	d'un'	p'unt'	-----
3	pɤt	mɤž'	d'ɤn'	p'ɤnt'	-----
4'	pot	môž'	d'ôn'	p'ônt'	-----
(N~0)	-----	-----	-----	p'ôt'	-----
	[pôt]	[môš]	[d'ôn]	[p'ôt]	[bop]

Thus the three different vowels which characterize these three dialects are accounted for as differences in the phonological rules contained in the grammar of each dialect. In this example these differences included differences in the number of rules (between KG and DP and between KG and SG) and a difference in the description of very similar rules (between DP and SG).

Now let us consider a hypothetical example in which a phonetic difference between dialects is described by reversing the order of phonological rules. The following data represent four lexical items as they appear in related dialects A and B.

A	B
čip	tip
čip	čip
tei	tei
či	či

I will assume that there is strong independent motivation for assigning the underlying representations /teip/, /tip/, /tei/, and /ti/ to the respective words in dialects A and B. Further, the grammar of dialect contains the following well-motivated, strictly ordered rules.

(6) (ei ~ i) $ei \rightarrow i / C\_\_C$

(7) (t ~ č) $\left.\begin{matrix} t \\ d \end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix} \check{c} \\ \check{z} \end{matrix}\right. / \_\_ i$

These rules are sufficient to account for the data in dialect A. They do not, however, correctly predict the occurrence of t in "tip" (< /teip/) in dialect B. Clearly some modification in the grammar of B is required. One alternative is to mark all words such as "tip" as exceptions to (7). As mentioned earlier, however, this approach obscures the relationship between dialects. These dialects will be better described simply by reversing the order of the rules, so that (7), the palatalization of dental consonants, is applied before (6), the monophthongization of ei.

During the last decade linguists have demonstrated successfully that generative grammar provides a systematic, useful framework in which to compare phonological differences between dialect systems. Only recently have linguists begun to extend the application of generative theory to the description of dialect differences in the syntactic component.[8] In the remainder of this paper I will offer data from Bulgarian to support the view that syntactic, as well as phonological, differences between dialect systems reflect grammars with different rules and/or with the same in different orders.

In Standard Literary Bulgarian (SLB) dative and accusative short form pronouns (pronominal clitics (PC)) are usually ordered after the auxiliary verb (AUX) but before the main verb ((MV) appearing in participial form).

(8) Vie ne ste i go izpratili. 'You didn't sent it to her.'
-AUX -dat.-acc. -MV

(9) Dnes sme mu ja pročeli. 'Today we read it to him.'
-AUX -dat. -acc. -MV

(10) Ne si im go kazal? 'Didn't you tell it to them?'
-AUX -dat. -acc. -MV

(11) Te sa ni ja dali. 'They gave it to us.'
-AUX -dat. -acc. -MV

However, in SLB the third person singular AUX, e, is ordered after the dative and accusative pronominal clitics.[9]

(12) Maša mi go e kazala. 'Masha told it to me.'
-dat. -acc. -AUV -MV

(13) Iordan ne i go e padaril. 'Iordan didn't present it to her.'
-dat. -acc. -AUX -MV

I assume that in a transformational analysis of Bulgarian there is a syntactic transformation which derives the pronominal clitics from full dative and accusative pronouns. This same rule moves the clitics into a position directly before the main verb of a clause.[10] One outcome of the application of this transformational rule is the prediction that AUX will precede the pronominal clitics whenever they co-occur in a clause. This prediction, however, is not entirely accurate since the third person singular AUX, e, is ordered after, not before, pronominal clitics. To account for the surface structure position of e I propose that the grammar of SLB also contain the following syntactic transformation:

(14) AUX Movement Rule I[11]   AUX $\begin{bmatrix}+3\text{rd}\\+\text{sing}\end{bmatrix}$ - (X) - (Y) - Verb
1 2 3 4 $\Longrightarrow$ 2 3 1 4

Let us now turn our attention to certain Rhodope, Western Rupski dialects and the Ixtimanski dialect in which we find a different word order. As noted by Stojkov, all AUX follow the pronominal clitics in these dialects.[12]

(15) Ie mi sъm kazal. (Smoljanski)
-dat. -AUX -MV

(16) Ako ma si zaburil. (Smoljanski)
-acc. -AUX -MV

(17) Ia mu sъm dal odin lep. (Zlatogradski)
-dat. -AUX -MV

(18) Pa go sa naložili. (Velingradski)
-acc. -AUX -MV

(19) I často mi sa dale ič. (Ixtimanski)
-dat. -AUX -MV

(20) Iaz go ne sam videle. (Ixtimanski)
-acc. -AUX -MV

If one assumes that the different surface structure word order found in these dialects reflects a difference in the underlying syntactic rules, then this word order can be accounted for by a single modification of the grammar. In the grammar of a speaker of any of these dialects rule (14) applies not only to the third person singular AUX, e, but to the other auxiliaries as well. The grammars of these dialects, therefore, will each contain the following rule:

(21) AUX Movement Rule II   AUX - (X) - (Y) - Verb
1 2 3 4 $\Longrightarrow$ 2 3 1 4

Clearly, the environment of the AUX Movement Rule is less restricted in these dialects than in SLB (compare 12 and 14). In one currently popular theory of linguistic change this statement implies that (14) should be the older rule.[13] Historically, however, we know that the opposite is true. As Stojkov notes, "This word order (i.e., that found in the above non-literary dialects) is older. It is recorded even in Old Bulgarian: 'ПѦТЬ ТОЛАНТЪ МИ ѤСИ ДАЛЪ'".[14] Thus the actual direction of the historical change is from (21) to the significantly more restricted environment of rule (14). This then, is a definite counter example to the theory that historical change tends to generalize, that is to expand, the application of grammatical rules.

In the previous example a difference in the structural description of a single syntactic transformation reflects the attested word orders encountered in various dialects. In the following one, the variations in word order are best characterized by considering that the grammars of both non-literary dialects in question contain the same rules, but in a different order.

The relevant word order in SLB is represented in the following examples and reflected in schema (24):

(22) Vie ne ste i go izpratili. 'You didn't send it to her.'
-NEG -AUX -dat. -acc. -MV

(23) Maxsim ne ni ja e podaril. 'Maksim didn't give it to us.
-NEG -dat. -acc. -AUX -MV

(24) A. Negative Particle - AUX - Pronominal Clitics - MV
(NEG)
B. NEG - Pronominal Clitics - AUX $\begin{bmatrix}+3\text{rd}\\+\text{sing}\end{bmatrix}$ - MV

In the literary language the negative particle (NEG) precedes AUX and the pronominal clitics. In contrast, NEG is ordered somewhat differently in the Ixtimanski dialect.[15]

(25) I casto mi ne sa dale ic.
-dat. -NEG -AUX -MV

(26) Sega nie gi ne sme brale.
-acc. -NEG -AUX -MV

(27) Vie go ne ste poslusali.
-acc. -NEG -AUX -MV

The critical order of constituents is as follows:

(28) Pronominal Clitics - NEG - AUX - MV

One way to account for the surface structure position of NEG in the Ixtimanski dialect is to argue that (28) reflects NEG's position in the base structure. This argument makes the implicit claim that NEG is a constituent of the verb phrase at the deepest level of grammatical structure. If this were true, however, there would be no credible means of explaining the negation of parts of the sentence not dominated by the verb phrase, for example the subject noun phrase. Therefore, if only from the standpoint of overall grammatical simplicity, it is more reasonable to assume that the negative particle is not generated by the phrase structure rules as a member of the verb phrase.

An insightful solution to the problem claims that NEG is directly dominated by the sentence node in deep grammatical structure and is subsequently moved into the verb phrase or noun phrase, as the case may be, by transformational rule. Therefore, the surface structure appearance of NEG between the pronominal clitics and AUX in the Ixtimanski dialect can only result from the application of such a rule.

Before stating this rule let us first examine the position of NEG in the Smoljanski dialect.[16]

(29) Ama ie gu sam ne čuvala.
-acc. -AUX -NEG -MV

(30) Ie ta sam ne čuval da popeeš.
-acc. -AUX -NEG -MV

(31) Tex gi sa ne kalesvali na svadba.
-acc. -AUX -NEG -MV

Here NEG is ordered after both pronominal clitics and AUX:

(32) Pronominal Clitics - AUX - NEG - MV

The position of NEG in this dialect, which contrasts with those encountered in both SLB and the Ixtimanski dialect, again indicates that a transformational rule has applied.

In both the Ixtimanski and Smoljanski dialect NEG is moved into the verb phrase by a transformational rule. Since the surface position of NEG is different in the dialects, their grammars might be thought to move NEG by different rules. A simpler overall analysis of Bulgarian, however, is achieved if NEG is transposed by the same rule in both dialects. Therefore, I suggest that the grammars of the Ixtimanski and Smoljanski dialect contain the following transformation:

(33) NEG Movement Rule NEG - (X) - (Y) - Verb
1 2 3 4 ⟹ 2 3 1 4

By properly ordering (33) either before or after the AUX Movement Rule II (21) the grammars of each dialect will correctly predict the surface structure position of NEG. In the Ixtimanski dialect NEG is found between the pronominal clitics and AUX. This order can be realized only if (33) applies first in the grammar and then is followed by (21) which will move AUX into a position between NEG and the main verb. In the Smoljanski dialect, however, these two rules must apply in the reverse order. Rule (21) applies first, followed in the grammar by (33), which transposes NEG into a position directly preceding the main verb.

The following abbreviated derivations represent the order and operation of (21) and (33) in the Ixtimanski and Smoljanski dialects. For greater simplicity I have used names of categories rather than phonological forms.

	Ixtimanski dialect		Smoljanski dialect
	NEG - AUX - Pronominal Clitics - MV		NEG - AUX - Pronominal Clitics - MV
(33)	AUX - Pronominal Clitics - NEG - MV	(21)	NEG - Pronominal Clitics - AUX - MV
(21)	Pronominal Clitics - NEG - AUX - MV	(33)	Pronominal Clitics - AUX - NEG - MV

Even from this brief discussion it should be evident that an approach to dialectology which examines the grammatical rules needed to describe the primary data is superior to one which concerns itself with only primary data. Examining the primary data alone inevitably leads to an incoherent body of superficial comparisons. Only through examination of the generative rules which underlie a speaker's linguistic behavior can we approach a consistently congruous system for describing differences between dialects of a language.

Notes

[1] See, for example, Edward Stankiewicz, "On Discreteness and Continuity in Structural Dialectology," Word, 13 (1957), pp. 44-59.

[2] Morris Halle, "Phonology in Generative Grammar," Word, 18 (1962), pp. 54-72. For an application of this notion, see Sol Saporta, "Ordered Rules, Dialect Differences and Historical Processes," Language, 41 (1965), pp. 218-29.

[3] Data is taken from S. Stojkov, Bulgarska Dialektologia, (Sofia, 1968).

[4] Both /i/ and /u/ are high, lax vowels. /u/ is the synchronic representation of both Old Bulgarian ъ and ѫ. This representation is possible because ъ and ѫ have merged everywhere in Bulgarian except in the Western Transitional dialects. /e/ underlies the synchronic reflex of Old Bulgarian ѧ and, therefore, is critical to my analysis only in the environment CeNC, where C is a consonant and N is a nasal consonant.

[5] The phonological rules in this paper are stated in terms now generally associated with generative grammar: an arrow indicates the direction of a change; the terms to the right of a slash (/) state the environment in which a rule applies, if no slash appears it is to be understood that the rule applies everywhere; C stands for a consonant and N for a nasal consonant. In addition, I am using [ъ] to represent the more conventional [ə] . Also note that the tags associated with each rule, such as (e~i), are included as mnemonic devices only. For a detailed discussion of rule formation in generative phonology, see Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle, The Sound Pattern of English (1968).

[6] A distinctive feature, in Jakobsonian terms, is any of a bundle of binary features whose opposition serves to distinguish between the sounds and, therefore, ultimately the words of a language. Any two sounds or words which share all but a single distinctive feature are called minimally distinct; for example, b~p, b~d, b~v, etc. Thus, in SG ŏ is distinguished from [a] in DP by the single feature [±round].

[7] In order to simplify the derivations I am assuming the existence of a number of mainly non-controversial phonological rules not discussed in this paper. They are: velar palatalization, consonant palatalization, loss of weak jers nasal deletion, depalatalization of final consonants, and final devoicing. Similarily I will assume, without prolonged discussion, that the correct underlying forms are those posited. In this regard, the reader will note that these underlying forms receive considerable motivation from the pertinent phonetic realizations in SLB.

[8] For an example of the application of this notion, see Wolfram and Fasould, The Study of Social Dialects in English (1974).

[9] In sentences expressing a negative question the e can be found either after the pronominal clitics or between ne and li (the question clitic).

[10] This transformation applies so that the dative clitic always precedes the accusative clitic when both are present in the same clause.

[11] The parenthesis enclosing terms X and Y indicate that they are optional. Either term, both or neither may be present. If neither X nor Y are present the rule applies vacuously. The term X is usually filled by the pronominal clitic of the dative case and Y by that of the accusative case.

[12] Stojkov, pp. 179-81.

[13] This theory is most persuasively advocated by Robert D. King in his book, Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar (1969).

[14] Stojkov, p. 180.

[15] Stojkov, p. 181.

[16] Stojkov, p. 181.

THINGS YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW BUT WERE AFRAID TO ASK ABOUT *QUECHUA*

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In June 1975, the Peruvian Government declared *Quechua*, the Andean region's most important indigenous language, to be, forthwith, the "co-official" language (with Spanish) of Perú. Administratively and legally (and ideally, I add), this means that those *indígenas* who are monolingual *quechuahablantes* or those bilinguals who are not sufficiently proficient in Spanish should now be able to present their civic problems to and have them attended to by public servants in *Quechua*, something that might help eliminate the countless injustices the former historically were and traditionally still are--especially on the local level--exposed to. Since Perú is *multi*lingual, not *bi*lingual: why only *Quechua*? Why not, also, *Aymara* or *Uru* or any of the *idiomas selváticos*? Finally, within what has been called the *supralecto quechua* (constituted by such regional varieties of *Quechua* as achieve the widest comprehension), WHICH *Quechua* of the generally recognized five principal varieties is to be "co-official" with Spanish?

Since June 1975, these questions have produced heated discussions in Perú (and calmer ones in the countries surrounding Perú, in certain regions of which *Quechua* is also spoken). The decree "officializing" *Quechua* appears to have been determined, in practical terms, simply by statistics: more people speak one of the, at times, considerably divergent varieties of *Quechua* than speak *Aymara* or the other languages. Moreover, *Quechua* is most widely spread among the agricultural population of Perú, i.e., among people who in turn live distributed over areas by far more extensive than those where the other languages are spoken.

A recent and most interesting book, *El quechua y la historia social Andina* by Alfredo Torero,[1] states: "El número actual de hablantes de Quechua en todas sus variedades es cosa difícil de determinar en razón de que, habiéndose convertido en una idioma sin prestigio, socialmente, desdeñado por ser el propio de los sectores explotados y marginados de la población Andina, sus usuarios tienden a negar su empleo ante los encuestadores de los censos nacionales en cuanto logran manejar, mal que bien, el Castellano. *La cifra, en todo caso, parece sobrepasar los siete millones de personas*" (p. 9; my emphasis). This number is valid, however, not only for Perú. According to Torero it is an estimate for *quechuahablantes* in all six Andean countries: "Se habla Quechua en seis países sudamericanos: Colombia (Intendencia de Caquetá, Comisaría de Putumayo); Ecuador (valles interandinos y el Oriente [. . .]); Perú (en casi todos sus Departamentos, salvo Tumbes, Piura, La Libertad [. . .], Tacna y Madre de Dios); Bolivia [. . .]; Argentina (provincia de Santiago del Estero, estribaciones andinas de las provincias de Catamarca, Tucumán y Salta y norte de la provincia de Jujuy), y Chile (pequeñas poblaciones en el nordeste del departamente de Lauca, provincia de Antofagasta)" (p. 10). For Perú itself, Torero gives the largest number of *quechuahablantes*: "al menos tres millones" (out of today's fourteen) (*Ibid*.). There follow Equador and Bolivia: one and a half million each; Argentina: 150,000 in Santiago del Estero and 20,000 in Jujuy. In Colombia and Chile, he writes, "hay, al parecer, sólo unos pocos milares" (*ibid*.), and adds: "Aproximadamente el 40% del total [de los seis países] maneja también las variedades locales del Castellano, pero con diverso grado de dominio" (pp. 10-11).

In North American academic circles, even among "peruanistas," little is known, generally, about *Quechua*. Perhaps in what follows I succeed, with Torero's and others' help, in giving some ideas about this intensely fascinating language and in awakening some interest in it and its history, interest which would automatically bring with it the discovery of one more of the great crimes of exploitation some parts of mankind have perpetrated upon other parts of mankind.

So as not to cause a misleading impression, let me state that I do not speak *Quechua*. I have tried several times to study it--and it is a very difficult language--but never had enough time to get very far. Attempts at obtaining grants have always failed, for who wants to study the language of yet another downtrodden people? Unfortunately, nobody can *really* study Perú--even, in my case, its literature--without wishing to know more about *Quechua* and those who speak it: think only of José María Arguedas.

Quechua, then, was "officialized." But *which* variety? Torero warns: ". . . estamos ahora, *no ante una lengua, sino ante una familia lingüística, o un conjunto multilingüe complejo*" (p. 11), and its history of histories show how "cualquier lengua (. . .) puede [tanto] constituirse en un poderoso factor de cohesión e identificación sociales, cuanto servir como vehículo de penetración ideológica y, eventualmente, de desintegración social, si poderes externos la vuelven contra el propio pueblo que la habla" (*ibid*.).

The five principal varieties of *Quechua* are, today, (1) that of the Ayacucho and the Cuzco regions, (2) of Ancash and Yaru (with two subdivisions), (3) of Jauja and Huanca, (4) Cañaris and Cajamarca, and (5) of Chachapoyas and Lamas. All of them are made up of what Torero calls "hablas" or "dialectos," into whose interrelationships, description, geographical distribution or combination into "supralectos" or "interlectos," the present context makes advisable not to go. One basic grouping, however, *must* be mentioned here, since it already implies important historical determinants. I refer to the division into *Quechua I* and *Quechua II*, the latter being subdivided into *Quechua II A*, *Q II B*, and *Q II C*, "según su alejamiento menor o mayor en relación con Q I" (p. 20). The areas for *Q I* are given as comprising "casi totalmente los departamentos peruanos centro andinos de Ancash, Huánuco, Pasco and Junín, el noreste y el sureste del de Lima y el noreste del de Ica, de manera casi continua" (p. 21); the areas for *Q II* are given as extending "con varias interrupciones, desde el sur de Colombia hasta el norte de Argentina" (*ibid*.). The *Quechua*-names for *Q I* and *A II* are *Wáywash* and *Wámpuy*, respectively. *Wámpuy*--and here the historical determinant I mentioned becomes visible--comes from "wampu" (ship) and means "to navigate" or "navigation." Contrary to the widespread belief (rampant even among Peruvians), namely, that *Quechua* originated in the Andean valleys, in the old Inca-capital Cuzco, say, for it is in the mountainous regions of Perú that one is most likely to find *Quechua*-monolingualism, the very word *Wámpuy* indicates that *Q II's* origins and its later expansion must have been related to *seafaring*. And so it was: "[Wámpuy] busca subrayar que la expansión de Q II se produjo a partir de la costa peruana por acción de pueblos que fundaron en gran parte su poder económico y político sobre una amplia capacidad de navegación --con fines de pesca y comercio--a lo largo del litoral del Pacífico Sur" (p. 21).

In speaking of *Wámpuy's* (*Q II's*) expansion by trade--very active, of course, not only along the coast but also, and historically perhaps more important, with the Andean interior: with the *sierras* and *punas* and even the *selvas*--I have in mind the pre-*Incanato*-period. This is important since, when the Incas began their conquests, it was two of Torero's sub-groups of *Q II* that, in combination, supplied the Inca expansion with what might be called a "linguistic imperialist tool." Thus, *Q II A* had a close relationship with the "hablas" of *Q I* and is known as *Yúngay*, comprising "antiguamente, parte de la costa central y de la coste norte peruana [sic] y las serranías vecinas a ésas" (p. 29-30). This leaves *Q II B* and *Q II C*, called *Chínchay* (from Chincha, a still existing city south of Lima in the Departamento of Ica), the two sub-groups which were to become the Inca's "linguistic tool" in the expansion, unification, and finally administration of their empire, just as *Chínchay* later was to be, too, for the Spaniards. "Este subgrupo [Chínchay] es el que mayor capacidad expansiva ha mostrado en la historia del Quechua y el que en la actualidad posee el mayor número de hablantes" (p. 32), states Alfredo Torero, and "fue éste, realmente, el 'quechua general' al que hacen mención los cronistas españoles" (*ibid*.). Considering the very violent early history of Western South America it is remarkable, to say the least, that the expansion of *Chínchay*, begun approximately two or three centuries before the Inca Empire and "officialized" for the first time (as it were) during the latter, should still have continued for something like two centuries after the *Conquista*.

The XIIth Inca, Huayna Cápac, declared *Chínchay*, henceforth known as "lengua general," the Empire's official language. This is probably the reason why it became associated with the Cuzco region and has given rise to the myth that Cuzco's *Quechua* is the "purest." As though "purity" were a historico-linguistic factor. If statistics were a reason for the "officialization" of *Quechua* in today's Perú, statistics are again a reason why of the five "lenguas quechuas" of today that Torero lists in his book, the one the Peruvian Government had in mind with its decree (and which is the one generally taught nowadays) should be the "conjunto Ayacuchano-Cuzqueño"; for, "[éste] alcanza al mayor número de hablantes quechuas en el Perú: alrededor de dos millones entre monolingües y bilingües. Su zona también es aquella en que vive el porcentaje más elevado de monolingües" (p. 43).

How very important *Chínchay* was as what in historiography is called "lengua de relación," and not only for the Incas but before their Empire as well as after it, has been documented by many of the *cronistas*. To quote Pedro Pizarro, here is his description of that Empire's, the Tahuantinsuyo's, administrative distribution: "Tenía el Inga repartidas [las provincias del Tahuantinsuyo] en cuatro partes: la una y más principal y de más gente y de mejor temple llamaban Chínchay Suyo, que ponían el nombre a esta provincia por el pueblo de Chincha" . . . "y por esta grandeza de Chincha pusieron por nombre de Chínchay Suyo dende el Cuzco hasta Quito, que hay casi cuatrocientas leguas" (quoted by Torero, p. 93). Fray Martín de Morúa wrote that the language "que agora comúnmente se dize la Quichua general, o del Cuzco," had come from Chincha and was the language of the Chinchaysuyo.[2] Garcilaso Inca de la Vega reports that Atahuallpa, when talking with the Spaniards in Cajamarca through the famous interpreter Felipillo, used the "lenguaje de Chinchaysuyo, el cual entendía mejor el faraute [intérprete], por ser más común en aquellas provincias que no el del Cuzco."[3]

What we have, then, if we look back at the history of *Quechua*, is a curious movement and countermovement: First, the language conquers--commercially, as it were--extensive regions that stretch far beyond its geographical origin on the Southern coast of what today is Perú, conquers even vast regions of Perú's interior; next, adopted as an administrative tool by the Tahuantinsuyo, the "lengua general" spreads "backwards" (if I may simplify), now no longer due to commercial needs but rather to administrative, almost bureaucratic exigencies. This is the phenomenon meant when one reads the often-used expression--whose origin I do not know--that with the victories of the Incas "el mundo se empezaba a voltear." Putting the situation in relation with the arrival of the Spaniards, Torero writes: "Lo cierto es que, a la llegada de los españoles, el señor de Chincah y la deidad de Pachacámac se mostraban con un poder comparable al de los señores y dioses del Cuzco. Un poder, inclusive, decisorio dentro del convulso Tahuantinsuyo de los últimos días" (p. 130), and "Hacia 1530 (año cero pre-conquista), "la lengua verdaderamente general" se empleaba desde el centro de Chile y el noroeste argentino hasta Ecuador y quizá el sur de Colombia y hasta las orillas del río Amazonas (. . .); la lengua desplazada [por el quechua], después de haber servido como idioma imperial durante los reinados de Pachacútec y Túpac Yupanqui, fue sin duda el Aymara, la otra gran 'lengua general,' hasta hoy la segunda en importancia entre los idiomas andinos" (p. 141); "Huayna Cápac era ya un chínchaysuoy" (p. 152).

What the Incas had known to be best for them, the *Conquistadores* quickly learned to be of no less value to them: *Quechua* remained useful for them both as a tool in their conquest and as a means for the "pacification" afterwards, if I may use a term well-known from Vietnam. Originally, of course, as Torero drily states, "dado el reducido número de los invasores (. . .), los castellanos no podían pretender la imposición de su propio idioma" (p. 181). By the middle of the 16th century, when the actual colonization began, however, the process called "ladinización" (bilingualism: *Quechua* and Spanish) initiated its growth: the usual result of a people occupied by foreigners. And, in 1550, Charles I ordered the "castellanización" of the American natives. The law to this effect, after asking "si aun en la más perfecta lengua de los indios se pueden explicar bien y con propiedad los misterios de nuestra Santa Fé Católica," states that "se ha reconcido que no es posible (. . .) [y se ha] resuelto que convendrá introducir la Castellana," wherefore "ordenamos que a los indios se les pongan maestros, que enseñen a *los que voluntariamente quisieran aprender* [la lengua castellana], *como les sea de menos* de menos molestia y sin costa" (quoted by Torero, p. 184; emphasis added). In other words, what in Peruvian history is called "la extirpación de idolatrías" was still a number of decades away: the *indios* were still able to "ladinizarse" *voluntarily*. By 1610, however, the "extirpación," the "dogmatización," and the "purificación" began systematically and forcefully. It is interesting to observe at least one of the reasons that led to them. By the beginning of the 17th century, seventy years after the invasion by the Spaniards, a new type of "conquistador" had come into existence, had literally been born: the *criollo* (originally, the offspring of two parents born in Spain; later the children of precisely that American-born offspring). Here is how Fray Reginaldo de Lizárraga describes their education: "Nacido el pobre pobre muchacho, lo entregan a una india borracha, que le críe, sucia, mentirosa (. . .) y críase, ya grandecillo, con indiezuelos, ¿cuál ha de salir este muchacho? sacará la lengua [i.e., Quechua] y las inclinaciones que mamó en la leche, y hará lo que hace aquél con quien pace, como cada día lo experimentamos."[4] It seems not too far-fetched to assume that even in the early 17th century some Spanish colonial administrators would be able to foresee that such a state of affairs might one day help to lead to what it finally did lead to at the turn of the 18th to the 19th century: the independence movements.

Still, outwardly the politics devised to combat such a development were called evangelization. And with it came what is known as the "reducción del indio" which was to last until very recently (and perhaps in some parts of the Andean regions, even though quite unofficially, still lasts): the loss of identity of those *indios*, the fragmentation of a nation into "ayllús" (something like the North American Indian Reservations, only smaller), the suppression of their religion, the exploitation, the exclusion from the "official" life of the "white" nation (with barely one "Día del Indio" in the *indígenas*' honor--to keep them working), and so forth.

Quechua thus became the "Language of Poverty," of self-contempt. "El Quechua desapareció de las preocupaciones oficiales. En adelante su cultivo, así como el de otras lenguas indígenas, se debería a actos de creación o recreación individual o de interés particular de ciertas órdenes religiosas, en especial de los Jesuitas" (p. 198). Today, I might add, among those studying *Quechua* most assiduously are the Chinese.

Will the Peruvian Government's "officialization" of *Quechua* restore greatness to its native speakers, or manage to integrate them into the nation and endow them with confidence in themselves, in their human worth and that of their own and their language's history? Most certainly not from today to tomorrow, from this year to next, not even from this decade to the next (although the Agrarian Reform of a few years ago in this latter case may be of help). A country whose overwhelming *criolla* majority has for an impressive number of centuries despised *quechuahablantes*, abused them, considered them inferior in every respect (if only to offset its own racial inferiority complex vis-à-vis "los anglosajones"), ridiculed them, a majority who perhaps even have made the *indígenas* into what their oppressors or brainless would-be "superiors" have said they are, such a country cannot change its psychology by government-decree, not even with hastily produced (and quickly dropped again) newspapers in *Quechua* (terrible *Quechua*, at that, as native informants told me many times) or with radio- or TV-commercials in *Quechua* selling products to them or flights to Paris (Air France) that they cannot afford anyway.

Perhaps the most symptomatic phenomenon of the unlikelihood that the "officialization" of *Quechua* will bring with it changes in Perú's national psychology (even among government officials or the soldiers in power, I suspect) was the appearance, in Lima, barely five days after the issuance of the "officialization"-decree, of little manuals, hawked at every streetcorner for little money, called *Aprenda Quechua en 10 Días*. No worse insult is imaginable. Except perhaps the proliferation concurrent with the manuals, of "academias de Quechua." Even the mushrooming karate-"academies," after premières of films starring Bruce Lee, are less insulting.

Notes

[1] (Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma, 1974).

[2] *Historia General del Perú* (Madrid: Ed. Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, 1962), I, 105.

[3] Torero refers us to Book One, chapters 23 and 25 of Garcilaso Inca de la Vegas' Historia General del Perú (1610).

[4] See the introduction to Juan de Velasco, Vocabulario de la Lengua Indica (1753; rpt. Quito: Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía and Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, 1964); this introduction was reprinted in Llacta (Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología, Quito), 20 (1964), p. xii.

COMMUNICATING IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE: SOME SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

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In order for a person to function adequately in the spoken areas of communication in a language other than his native language, there are a series of aspects involved in the communication process which he must master--in addition to the verbal--which fall into various facets of the nonverbal category. Certainly two of these are the kinesic and the paralinguistic. But all of these components of communication, verbal as well as nonverbal, are governed by a multitude of sociocultural values which determine the appropriateness of both the verbal forms and the accompanying nonverbal behavior in the appropriate environment.

A particular cultural value serves as a stimulus for both verbal and non-verbal aspects of communication, which in turn respond to that stimulus. Kinesic responses are neither vocal nor verbal; the paralinguistic are vocal but not verbal, and the verbal encompasses every other phase of language: phonological, grammatical, lexical, semantic, stylistic, dialectal, etc.

In the last decades we have seen a rise in the field of study that examines language and language use as an integral part of a particular culture or sub-stratum of a society. The field of sociolinguistics includes in its domain nearly every aspect of the structure and use of language that relates to its cultural and social functions. This field suggests that the notion of language competence must be widened considerably; that is, that competence includes the skills involved in adapting one's language correctly to a specific social context to as great a degree as those involved in producing grammatically well-formed sentences.

Let us examine the reflections of some of the sociocultural values I have just referred to as they are manifested in day-to-day activities involved in certain elements of life sustenance and in certain interpersonal relationships.

Life Sustenance

In order for a person to participate successfully in, let us say a meal in a typical Hispanic home, he must know not only the linguistic forms of the language, but also how to select the appropriate verbal forms and their accompanying nonverbal behavior in every single, seemingly simple, aspect of what is actually an extremely complicated social set--and if he errs on any one of them, he might be in trouble. For example, one must know:

1. With respect to the preparation of the meal:
    a. Who prepares it? La criada? La señora? El señor?
    b. What type of food to expect--Fried? Baked? Barbecued? Grilled?
    What *not* to expect--broiled foods, perhaps.
    If fried, in what kind of grease, and how much of it? A remark such as *A mi no me gustan las cosas fritas* might be most embarrassing to your host if everything on the menu is fried--as may very well be the custom.
    c. What kind of spices to expect, and how much of them. For example, how many of you would answer, "Yes, of course" to the question *Le gusta el ajo*? and might respond with varying reactions at the first taste of a dish prepared with two heads of garlic--not cloves, mind you--heads.
2. On the nomenclature of meals and their time schedules, what meal is served at what time of day? If you are invited to a *comida*, for example: *Puede Ud. venir a comer con nosotros*?--are you being invited to lunch at 2:00 p.m.? or dinner at 2:00 p.m.? or dinner at 7:00 p.m.?
3. And at this meal--let us say it is the principle meal of the day--aside from what it is called:
    a. What members of the family would you expect to be there?
    b. What might the seating arrangement be? What is the protocol on seating? What are the taboos, if any?
    c. What is the appropriate dress? Coat and tie? Levis?
    d. Are there conventions in arrangement of the place settings that are different from your own?
    e. Who serves the meal? Who dishes the food out? Are the dishes passed from guest to guest? Is there a maid? And if so, what is her role during the meal?
    f. What might the meal consist of? In what order? Soup, salad, meat? Meat, soup, salad? And at what point do the rice-and-beans fit in?
    g. And the blessing--if there is one? Who renders it? Might you be asked to do so? Is it O.K. to decline? What kind of nonverbal behavior accompanies the blessing? Will you offend if you do not do the expected?
    h. And the conversation during and after the meal? Who leads it? Who participates? Who does not participate? What might some of the limitations or taboos be with respect to the topics discussed?
    i. On the question of table manners, what is considered good and what is considered bad? How do you handle the fork? What do you do with your elbows? And your hands? What are the

going conventions for breaking and buttering the bread? Despite what the Emily Post variety of authorities on etiquette may say, these mores are not necessarily either international or universal.

- j. And speaking of bread--what form and types are preferred? What are some of its substitutes, such as rice or tortillas? Ah, yes, the tortilla--do you roll it, bend it, break it, fold it, or what? Sure, you do *all* these things, but in different food environments.
- k. And food, of course, leads us to drink. Which liquids accompany the meal? What do you have to ask for (like water, for instance)? Should you expect ice cubes, or even ask for them? Should you expect hot drinks to be piping hot? You know, one of the reputations we Americans have just about all over the world is that we want our cold drinks absolutely freezing and our hot drinks positively scalding.
- l. And coffee--is it blended at home? Is it roasted at home? Is it ground at home? There is an extensive and varied coffee culture all over the world which we tend to know very little about, and it includes conventions for preparing and serving, such as: the kind of cup (or glass, for that matter), the quantity, the strength, whether it requires cream or milk or hot milk, the quantity of sugar--there are entire societies where drinking coffee without sugar is unknown.
- m. One last remark on food. Suppose you happen in on a Mexican family, uninvited, while they are eating, and you are extended the usual formula of *Ud. gusta*? Do you accept? Do you decline by saying, *No, gracias*? Those who know the culture well know that you decline gracefully and conventionally with another formula which says neither yes nor no, but simply, *Gracias, buen provecho*.

Interpersonal Relationships

This, of course, brings us into the area of interpersonal relationships in which the language provides us with many clues as to the exact relationship between one person and another.

1. *Tú* and *usted*
    - a. I will not dwell on the use of titles or nicknames, or on the usual conventions with *tú*, *Ud.*, *vos*, *vosotros*, and *Uds.*, especially as these apply within the depth of the family relationships.
    - b. However, I would like to comment on the *tú* / *Ud.* conventions used in addressing strangers. When someone speaks to you in the *tú* form, are you interpreting the signals correctly? Is this use signalling the desire for a new, more intimate relationship, as it might in some cultures, or is it merely the reflection of a particular Hispanic society which uses *tú* at the drop of a hat? Or are you being insulted?
    - c. In fact, in the area of insult, certain cultures will switch from *Ud.* to *tú* during an argument, in others the combattants will go right on insulting each other using *Ud.*
    - d. Insults certainly constitute one of the most difficult areas for the foreigner to master. A case in point is the incident of the tourist who was driving the car in which I was a passenger and was stuck in a traffic jam in Mexico City. He blew his horn too insistently, and the traffic cop called over to him--rather patronizingly, I thought--*Que se te pegue el pito al palo*. The tourist never knew that he had been insulted. And I did not have the heart to tell him so.
2. *Expletives and euphemisms* represent one of the most delicate and most complicated problem areas for the non-native Spanish speaker.
    - a. Which expletives are permissible and in what environment? For some segments of the Anglo-American culture, the word *God* as an expletive is taboo, and they might react most negatively to such expressions as *Por Dios* and *Dios mío* which are accepted and widely used throughout the Hispanic world.
    - b. What are some of the other euphemisms which are tolerated in all environments and in all Hispanic cultures--like *caray* and *caramba*, for example?
    - c. Which, on the other hand, have through constant use, become expletives in and of themselves? One example of this would be *tiznar*, widely used in Mexico as a euphemism for *fregar* or *chingar*.

We recognize, of course, that the answers to the questions we have raised may vary somewhat, depending: 1) on the horizontal level--that is, similar levels across the sub-cultures of a particular society; and 2) on the vertical level within the same culture, from one socioeconomic level to another.

Prestige Factors

The stylistic choices that we have been discussing, and of course many others that a speaker makes, are usually full of social as well as other types of meaning. And the desire for social acceptance within a group and mobility across groups not only influences people's actual choice of language but also their subjective evaluation of what is correct or desirable speech.

In normal, unaffected speech without hypercorrection, speakers of a language perform the act of speech and communication without value judgements as to their manner of speaking, indeed without even being conscious of the way they are speaking, the forms they are using. Their conscious behavior is mainly directed at and limited to the content of their communication and the effect their ideas are having on the person to whom they are talking.

Value judgements of such unaffected speech, when they are made at all, are usually made by listeners whose education and socioeconomic status is superior to (i.e. at a higher level than) that of the speaker--of course, that superiority may be more imagined than real. And they are usually made in accordance with the standards set by academicians and other members of the most highly educated group. I do not argue the merits of these value judgements, which are, after all, a social phenomenon and not a linguistic one. One group decides what it will or will not accept, and they set the standards which are used by employers in judging employees, teachers judging students, parents judging children, etc. I do not argue the merits of these standards; I simply take cognizance of their existence and report accordingly.

1. *Real Prestige Factors*--These value judgements usually tend, in their totality, to place a speaker in a certain status level as to speech. As long as he performs at the level of the ideal set by the academicians, he neither loses nor gains prestige as a speaker. When he departs from those set norms of "correctness," however, he loses prestige as a speaker (in the eyes of the academicians, of course). The more divergencies from the cultured norm, the farther down he is placed in the status levels (of speech). These are what I call the *real prestige* levels. For example, a speaker who uses analogical verb forms of the second person singular preterite, let us say, *fuistes*, *hablastes*, *comistes*, etc., or who changes the vocalic stress in pronunciation like *pais*, *maiz*, etc., loses prestige and his departures from the established ideal are real prestige factors (in reverse, of course, acting to deprive him of overall prestige--negative prestige factors, we could say, or prestige losses).

2. *Imaginary Prestige Factors*--But there is another type of prestige factor at work, present in all types of affected or hypercorrected speech. Such a speaker, attempting--alas--to gain prestige, will use what he considers or imagines to be a preferred or more prestigious form than the one he is accustomed to using. He will be making use of what I choose to call *Imaginary Prestige Factors*. And invariably, of course, in the eyes of those making the value judgements, he will actually be losing even more prestige than if he had simply used his habitual non-prestigious form.

    a. Such a speaker might use, let us say, a labiodental sound for written *v* instead of his usual bilabial: v oy a v er . This prestige factor is imaginary because: 1) it is a hypercorrection which in itself lowers the prestige of its user; and 2) most academicians and other educated speakers will not accept this sound, because they know--and with good reason--that this sound is not a part of the phonological system of Spanish. So the speaker has erred in his belief that this would gain him prestige; it is therefore an *imaginary prestige factor*.
    b. Let me switch to English for another example of imaginary factors. Most speakers with little formal education--and, unfortunately, also many speakers with a great deal of formal education--say: *Those tickets are for Johnny and I*, or *The children bought some presents with their own money and gave them to my wife and I*, etc. They use these forms because they have been brainwashed by parents and teachers to always use *I* and not *me* after *and*. Of course, what they are not responding to are the differences between compound subjects and compound objects. In fact, so strong has been the brainwashing on this particular point that I believe some of those speakers are no longer hypercorrecting; the habit has already been internalized and the second member of a compound subject or object will always--for them--be in the nominative case. This then would no longer be an imaginary prestige factor, but a real one, in any case robbing them of linguistic prestige.

3. *Some Imaginary Prestige Factors in Spanish*--In the interests of time, let us summarize--without entering into a detailed discussion of each one--some of the phenomena that constitute some of the imaginary prestige factors in Spanish:

    a. The attempt, on the part of a seseista, to affect a [θ]: *On[θ]e ma[θ] uno [s] on do[s]e*: or *En e[s]ta [s]iudad ha[θ]e mucho frío*.
    b. The affectation of the Castilian-type apical [ṡ]: *hijo[ṡ] mío[ṡ]*.
    c. The exaggeration of the slight vocalic element between stop-consonant and *r*: *Tengo mucha p[ᵊ]risa*.
    d. The affectation of zeismo in a dialect area which doesn't have it: *[ž]o no quiero [ž]orar*.

4. *And Some Real Ones*

    a. The ceceo: *On[θ]e ma[θ]uno [θ]on do[θ]e*.
    b. the ř asibilada: *[ř]eja*, *pe[ř]o*. It must be said, however, that this phenomenon is becoming more and more generalized over the Hispanic globe. Of course, when the generalization reaches a certain level, then it will no longer be a negative prestige factor.
    c. The weak /y/ phoneme between vowels in Northern Mexico and the U.S.-Mexico border area, in which *ella* > *ea*, *silla* > *sia*, *calle* > *cae*, etc.

Most linguists would agree, I believe, that verbal and nonverbal communication in interaction are in themselves a sociolinguistic phenomenon. And one of the ultimate goals of sociolinguistics is that of identifying some of the more universal social factors involved in people's choice of language, whether verbal or nonverbal, and along with this, of showing how their choice is manifested in terms of language, dialect, or style, both verbal and nonverbal.

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SPRACHMANIPULATION UND PROPAGANDALITERATUR IM DRITTEN REICH

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Die Wirksamkeit, mit der das dritte Reich die deutsche Sprache und Literatur in seine Dienste stellte, gibt den Analytikern dieser Epoche immer noch Rätsel auf. Die an der humanistischen Tradition orientierte Germanistik gewöhnte sich nach dem Kriege nur langsam an die Erkenntnis, in welchem Grade sich Sprache und Literatur für den Dienst am Inhumanismus eignen. Die Frage, wie es möglich war Literatur und Sprache derart zu korrumpieren, dass sie sich dem humanistischen Prinzip der Menschlichkeit und Wahrheit so absolut entfremden konnten, ist immer noch weitgehend unbeantwortet. Die Tatsache jedoch, dass es geschehen konnte, musste den Glauben an die prinzipielle Humanität der Literatur erschüttern.

Dabei wird häufig übersehen, dass die Nazis im Grunde nur eine der Sprache und damit der Literatur innewohnende Möglichkeit beim Wort nahmen und für ihre Zwecke ausnutzten; nämlich ihre Manipulationsfähigkeit. Sie forcierten also lediglich eine der Sprache eigene Tendenz. Humboldts Ansicht von der Sprache als Weltsicht wurde von ihnen ernst genommen. Konkret hiess das, dass sich die nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung eine ihr eigene Sprache und Literatur schaffen wollte.

Seit Humboldt und gefördert durch die Erschütterung, welche die Bürgerruhe der an der Sprache und Literatur interessierten akademischen Kreise Deutschlands durch die Kulturpolitik der Nazis erfuhr, hat sich nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg ein stärker an den anthropologischen und pädagogischen Dimensionen der Sprache interessiertes Sprachbewusstsein entwickelt. Ein Bewusstsein, welches die ethische Potenz der Sprache und Literatur und ihren Einfluss auf das Leben des einzelnen Menschen und der Gesellschaft auch abseits der gebildeten Kreise untersucht. Das was Otto Friedrich Bollnow die _Macht des Wortes_[1] nannte und womit die Nazis von Anfang an kalkuliert hatten, gewann stärkere Bedeutung.

Von der Einsicht in die Möglichkeiten der Literatur für Propagandazwecke war es nur noch ein Schritt zu einer planvollen Ausnutzung. Sprachliche Formen zu finden, die sich für die Propaganda der Nazis besonders eigneten, war verhältnismässig einfach. Hier konnte man auf die reiche Tradition und Erfahrung der politischen Literatur, die der deutsche Sprachraum durch Jahrhunderte hindurch geschaffen hat, zurückgreifen. Vor allem waren es die Lyrik und der Spruch welche durch Epochen hindurch eine besondere Potenz für die Bewegung der öffentlichen Meinung bewiesen hatten, literarische Formen also, welche sich durch Prägnanz von Sprache und Gedanken und eine auf ihre Kürze begründete hohe Manipulationsfähigkeit auszeichnen. Diese Manipulationsfähigkeit hängt wiederum mit der ihrer Grundelemente; Wort, Bild und Metapher, zusammen. Bild und Metapher, von ihrer Definition als Neufassung eines Gedankens verstanden, sind ein Produkt sprachlicher Manipulation und besitzen selbst diese Fähigkeit in hohem Grade. Es ist ihre Eigenschaft, dass sie den von ihnen erfassten Gedanken oder Gegenstand in verwandelter Form darstellen und sich für die Manipulation einer Idee durch die Sprache besonders eignen. In der literarischen Tradition ist die allgemeine Tendenz bei diesem Prozess die Erneuerung des entsprechenden Gedankens. Er erhält neue Frische, neues Verständnis, neue Klärung. Seine Ausnutzung in der Propaganda zeigt jedoch, dass dieser künstlerisch gerechtfertigte Prozess auch der Korruption zur Verfügung steht. Grundsätzlich sind Bild und Metapher subjektive Formeln für eine objektive Tatsache. Eine bestehende Realität findet durch sie ihren Ausdruck, jedoch immer nur in der vom Dichter bestimmten veränderten Form. Sie sind also, wie schon gesagt, selbst ein Produkt der Manipulation der Sprache und schwanken ständig zwischen Erneuerung und Zerstörung der Vorlage. Eine letztliche Entscheidung ist von der Intention des Dichters abhängig. Ein treffendes Beispiel hierfür sind Ernst Jüngers Erzählungen _Auf den Marmorklippen_ und _Die Eberjagd_. In diesen Erzählungen bricht Jünger mit der traditionell positiven Vorstellung vom Wald und der Gestalt des Försters und gibt ihnen eine grundsätzlich negative Neuwertung. Abgesehen davon, dass jede sprachliche Form einer stetigen und allmählichen Wandlung unterworfen ist, wird diese Wandlung hier nicht nur beschleunigt, sondern darüber hinaus der Inhalt eines romantisch-deutschen Vorstellungskreises aus kritisch moralischer Absicht negativ umgekehrt. Wo, wie bei den Nazis, diese moralische Absicht fehlt, kann dieser gleiche Prozess dazu dienen, die Sprache in den Dienst der Korruption zu stellen. Durch die Pervertierung werttragender Metaphern, wie wir es bei Jünger sehen und wie es bei den Nazis üblich war, wird die Zerstörung des Wertkerns selbst eingeleitet. Hier im Raum von Bild und Metapher zeigt sich deutlich die Tendenz der Sprache zur Manipulation.

In den angeführten Erzählungen von Ernst Jünger ist sichtbar, dass auch das einzelne Wort zum Opfer seiner in ihm angelegten Manipulationsfähigkeit werden kann. Die Festlegung auf einen neuen Inhalt greift schon hier, bei Jünger, traditionelle positive Werte an. Wenn Jüngers Förster grinst, so ist die Förstergestalt des deutschen romantischen Vorstellungskreises plötzlich nicht wieder zu erkennen. Das Wort selbst löst nicht mehr vertraute Vorstellungen aus. So kann die Bedeutung eines Wortes mit einer einzigen Passage kaputt gemacht werden. Eine sicher noch radikalere Form hat die Veränderung des Wortes in der Propagandaliteratur der Nazis erfahren. Sie steigert sich hier bis zu seiner Korruption. Besonders krasse Beispiele dafür sind die Begriffe Volk und Vaterland. Betrachten wir z.B. das Wort "Volk". Dieser Begriff ist durch viele Nachkriegsjahre hindurch in Deutschland unmöglich gewesen und hat auch jetzt noch einen faden Beigeschmack. Sein Bedeutungskreis fusst fest in der Geschichte und bewies durch Jahrhunderte seinen Wert. Von den Nazis jedoch wurde ihm eine neue Bedeutung gegeben. Sie versuchten den ursprünglichen Inhalt zu negieren um an seine Stelle einen Inhalt zu setzen, der sich nicht mehr oder nur scheinbar an der Wertskala des ursprünglichen Inhalts orientierte, um dessen Wirkung auf die Massen für seine Zwecke auszunutzen. Rassenhass, nationale Arroganz und andere negative Elemente verschütteten die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes. Sie gaben ihm eine dem Zweck der politischen Tendenz angepasste Richtung. Auffallend dabei ist die Grobheit und Grellheit dieser neuen Elemente. Sie ist bei diesem Prozess immer notwendig um eine eingebürgerte Bedeutung an die Wand zu drücken und zu überschreien. Die Notwendigkeit die anerkannte Macht eines etablierten Begriffes erst brechen zu müssen, bevor der Begriff nach einer politischen Tendenz neu geformt und ihr angepasst werden kann, erklärt teilweise auch das agressive Element in der Propagandasprache. Das schliesst jedoch nicht aus, dass mit der ursprünglichen Bedeutung eines Wortes gerechnet wurde, dessen Geist sich für den korrumpierten neuen Inhalt als Wegbahner eignet.

Nicht immer jedoch benutzte die Literatur der Nazis so lebenskräftige Begriffe,wie das Wort "Volk" einer ist. Veraltete und ermüdete Begriffe liessen sich viel leichter manipulieren. Sie wurden wiederbelebt. Auf den alten Inhalt brauchte in solchen Fällen meist wenig Rücksicht genommen werden. War ein Begriff dabei von der Umgangssprache absorbiert zu werden und seiner speziellen Pointiertheit verlustig zu gehen, dann wurde er neu aufgegriffen und zirkuliert. Durch einen neuen, allerdings tendenziösen Inhalt wurde ihm eine neue Vitalität gegeben. In der Literatursprache der Nazis war das vor allem mit der Sprache der Bibel und der germanischen Mythologie der Fall. Betrachten wir den Mechanismus dieser Manipulation am Beispiel der Bibelsprache. Vom Vokabular her konnte der Nationalsozialismus mit einem bestimmten Repertoire von biblischen Begriffen rechnen. Vom Inhalt her hatte sich das religiöse Element bei einem grossen Teil der Masse ermüdet und war äusserlich geworden. Die Nazis griffen diese Sprache und Vorstellungswelt auf und füllten sie mit neuen religiösen Inhalten, welche in Wahrheit scheinreligiös bzw. antireligiös waren. Der Führer war Gott in Person, die Weihe war eine staatliche, halb mythologische halb mystisch verschleierte Einrichtung - so wie es ja auch die Jugendweihe in der DDR ist. Mit dem ausgeprägten Opportunismus, der aller Propaganda eigen ist, schlug man hier zwei Fliegen mit einer Klappe. Nicht nur gab man dem Zweifler einen neuen Inhalt für alte Vorstellungen, man betörte gleichzeitig die Masse der naiv Gläubigen, die vom religiösen Vokabular auf religiöse Intentionen und auf die religiöse Basis der Ideologie schloss. Es gab der Bewegung den Anschein einer Fundierung im christlichen Ethos. Bei all dem konnte man sich darauf verlassen, dass in der menschlichen Gesellschaft dem Wort, der Sprache, vor allem aber der Bibelsprache eine hohe Potenz der Verantwortung und Wahrhaftigkeit zugetraut, ja sogar von ihr erwartet wird.

Wie naiv und unkritisch diese Einstellung auch sein mag, dort wo eine traditionsverwurzelte Sprachschicht mit einem neuen Inhalt gefüllt wird, kann sie vorerst mit dieser Naivität rechnen. Wenn der veränderte Inhalt und die damit verbundene Absicht erkannt werden, ist es oft zu spät. Das einmal begründete Wort lässt sich nicht leicht aus der Welt schaffen.

Anders erfolgt die Konsolidierung einer neuen sprachlichen Wendung. Neben dem naiven Vertrauen der Massen in das Wort, neben dem Autoritätsglauben an das Wort, kann hier mit dem Überraschungseffekt gerechnet werden, den es auslöst. Er garantiert die Verwurzelung in der Sprache ehe die Bedeutung und Wirkung der Wendung erkannt wird. Die Anfälligkeit der Sprache für Manipulation ist bei bestimmten Sprachschichten besonders hoch. Sie steht auch grundsätzlich entgegengesetzten politischen Richtungen zur Verfügung. So ist es auch mit dem biblischen Sprachvorrat. Er ist schon lange nicht mehr alleiniges Eigentum der religiösen Aussage. In besonders skrupellosem Masse aber haben sich die Nazis ihrer bedient. Ein "heiliger Wille" zur Verteidigung einer später offen religionsfeindlichen Ideologie war ein integraler Teil des nationalsozialistischen Kriegsvokabulars. Die Autorität der Religion wurde hier als nützlicher Partner erkannt und benutzt.[2]

Die Untersuchung der Propagandaliteratur und -sprache zeigt weiterhin, dass sich der Missbrauch eines Begriffes auf der Erkenntnis in die Vielschichtigkeit der Sprache bzw. des Wortes aufbaut. Diese Vielschichtigkeit wird dort, wo sie dazu dient, der Sprache,die der Propaganda dienliche und für sie charakteristische Unklarheit zu geben, bewusst herausgehoben. Eine weitere Beobachtung ist die, dass die Anpassung, der Zuschnitt eines Begriffes für eine bestimmte propagandistische Absicht, den betreffenden Begriff auf einer neuen, von seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung abweichenden Wertstufe einordnet. Die Korruption der Sprache trifft also nicht nur deren Fassade, sondern ihr gesamtes inhaltliches und ethisches Fundament. Dabei unterliegt dieser Vorgang einem Beschleunigungsgesetz. Je häufiger mit einem Wort, einer Sprachschicht, einer literarischen Form experimentiert wird, je gewagter und willkürlicher mit der Vorlage umgegangen wird, desto rücksichtsloser wird sie verändert. Immer wieder bestätigt sich dabei, dass es die Manipulationstendenz der Sprache selbst ist, die sie zu einem willigen und wichtigen Werkzeug der Propaganda macht. Die Ideologien mögen so entgegengesetzt sein wie der Nationalsozialismus und der Kommunismus der DDR, ihre Propagandaliteratur hat frappierende Gemeinsamkeit. Sie sind immer gezwungen, die vorhandene Sprache zu benutzen. Freie Hand haben sie nur darin, dass sie die der Sprache eigene Flexibilität bis zum Äussersten ausnutzen.

Der ständige Zwang, unter dem die politische Propaganda allgemein und die totalitäre Propaganda insbesondere steht, Ereignisse und Ideen nach der augenblicklich herrschenden Richtung der Ideologie zu interpretieren, fordert, dass die Vielschichtigkeit der Sprache zum Zweck des ständigen Maskenwechsels laufend zur Verfügung steht. Durch die Sprache werden die Inhalte einer Information der augenblicklich herrschenden Richtung der offiziellen Politik angepasst und in dieser Form den Massen angeboten. Die Funktion der Sprache ähnelt dabei dem Job Winston Smiths in George Orwells Roman Nineteen eighty-four.

Es ist eine Eigenschaft der politischen Propaganda allgemein, dass sie zwar eng ausgerichtete und scharf abgegrenzte Ziele und Tendenzen verfolgt, dass aber die Gewaltsamkeit, mit der die

Sprache manipuliert wird, immer wieder zur Korrektur zwingt. Die Sprache, der Begriff, die ihre Balance in der Vielschichtigkeit haben, kommen bei der Überbetonung eines Inhaltes aus dem Gleichgewicht. Korrektur wiederum erzwingt Gegenkorrektur. Dieser ständige Balanceakt mit der Sprache--denkt man zum Beispiel an den im dritten Reich verbreiteten Mythos von der Unbesiegbarkeit der deutschen Armee--ist die Ursache für ihre häufig bewusst geschaffene Ungenauigkeit.

War diese Ungenauigkeit ein gewolltes Element der Nazipropaganda? Wahrscheinlich nicht, denn wir finden auch sehr genaue und klare Formulierungen, nämlich dort, wo alle Eventualitäten ausgeschlossen sind. Es ist daher eher anzunehmen, dass diese Ungenauigkeit eine Folge des oben genannten Zwanges zur ständigen Balance ist. Sie ist das Resultat der ständigen Manipulation der Wahrheit durch die Sprache, also eine Konsequenz der Eigengesetzlichkeit dieser Manipulation, die schwer zu umgehen ist. Die Sprache selbst hat bei all dem das Nachsehen. Je länger ein Wort, ein Bild, eine Metapher in den neuen, durch Manipulation seinem Inhalt gezogenen Grenzen existiert, umso schwerer scheint die Rückkehr in den Raum seiner Bedeutungsherkunft zu sein. Erinnern wir uns nur an das Wort "Vaterland", welches, nachdem es die Nazis gründlich vergewaltigt hatten, für Jahre hindurch im deutschen Sprachraum eine penetrante Sonderstellung hatte. Einmal in Bewegung gesetzt, lässt sich die Eigenbewegung der einem Wort angehefteten Bedeutung nur schwer bremsen oder umlenken.

Nicht immer war es notwending, bis in die germanische Mythologie, zur Bibelsprache, zur heroischen Dichtung oder auf Schiller und die Dichter der Freiheitskriege zurückzugreifen, um entsprechende Sprachvorlagen zu finden. Direkt oder indirekt fand die Naziliteratur Unterstützung durch die Dichtung des beginnenden zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. Hugo Friedrich in seinem Werk über die Struktur der modernen Lyrik[3] spricht von den agressiven und negativen Wendungen der modernen Lyrik. Zweifellos haben wir es hier mit Kategorien zu tun, welche die Breitenwirkung der Nazisprache und ihrer Literatur vorbereiteten. Ihre Existenz vor dem nationalsozialistischen Machtantritt minderte die Schockwirkung der nationalsozialistischen Propagandaliteratur. Die schockierende Sprache vor allem in der Lyrik des Expressionismus war zur Mode geworden. Die Blutmetaphern der expressionistischen Lyrik sind zwar künstlerisch nicht mit der Blutmetaphorik der Nazis zu vergleichen, gleichwohl sind sie nicht weniger schockierend. Wenn der Expressionismus vor den Grausamkeiten des Krieges warnen wollte, so wollten die Nazis ihn durch Gewöhnung an diese Grausamkeiten vorbereiten. Trotzdem ist die Vorstellung von einem Bajonett im Leib eines Soldaten nicht weniger schockierend als die Vorstellung von den langen Messern, die "in Judenleiber flutschen". Die allgemeine Verbreitung und Gewöhnung an solche Vorstellungen ist in jeder Hinsicht eine potentielle Gefahr.[4]

Wie bei der schon erwähnten Manipulation religiösen Sprachgutes profitierte hier die nationalsozialistische Literatur von dem etablierten Glauben an die ethische Integrität der Lyrik. Er übertrug sich auf die der Propaganda untergeordnete Sprache und Literatur. So wurde sie in der Masse häufig als über dem Misstrauen stehend akzeptiert. Nur die wirklich diskriminierenden Schichten der Bevölkerung erkannten zum Teil diese gefährliche Verwechslung. Einwände aber konnten nur unter Gefahr und im Geheimen geäussert werden. Ihre Wirkung war letztlich beschränkt, da der politische Terror die Anerkennung der offiziellen Literatur erzwang.

Die Jahre, in denen ein Doktor der Germanistik als Minister für Propaganda und Volksaufklärung seine Einsichten in die Manipulationsmöglichkeiten der Sprache und in ihre Potenz zur Führung der Massen für die Ziele eines unmenschlichen Staatssystems nutzbar machte, bewiesen wieder einmal, dass es nicht allein unsere Menschlichkeit ist, die sich in Sprache und Literatur äussert, sondern auch unsere Unmenschlichkeit.

Notes

[1] Otto Friedrich Bollnow, Die Macht des Wortes. Neue pädagogische Bemühungen, Nr. 17/18, hrsg. von Werner Loch und Jakob Muth (Essen: 1964).

[2] In seinem Band, Über politische Lyrik im 20 Jahrhundert. Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, Nr. 228/29 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), S. 40, äussert Albrecht Schöne die Ansicht, dass es der marxistischen Lyrik im Unterschied zu den Gedichten der Nationalsozialisten grundsätzlich nicht darum geht, die religiösen Gehalte auszuwechseln, sondern sie auszuschalten. Dieser Unterschied zugunsten der Nazis besteht unserer Ansicht nach nicht, Auswechslung oder Ausschaltung - die Absicht in beiden Fällen ist gleicherweise die Zerstörung der religiösen Vorlage.

[3] Hugo Friedrich, Die Struktur der modernen Lyrik: Von Baudelaire bis zur Gegenwart. Rowohlts deutsche Enzyklopädie, Nr. 25 (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1961), Kap. I.

[4] Über die von Hugo Friedrich genannten negativen Kategorien der modernen Lyrik hinaus war die frappierende Willkür, mit welcher der Expressionismus formulierte, für die Naziliteratur nicht ohne Bedeutung. Die Gewöhnung an extreme Formulierungen, an die vielschichtige Hinterbedeutsamkeit des Wortes und an Krassheiten bereiteten den Weg nicht nur für die Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts allgemein, sondern auch für die Naziliteratur. Weiterhin half der von Hugo Friedrich genannte Stakkatocharakter der expressionistischen Lyrik das Feld einer militärisch orientierten Lyrik vorzubereiten. Das Marschlied, der Slogan, die abgehackte hitlerische Rhetorik erhielten unter anderem auch von dieser Seite verborgene Impulse.

EIN AM TOR DER VERGESSENHEIT STEHENDER OSTNIEDERDEUTSCHER DIALEKT

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Vorliegende Arbeit ist ein Versuch, eine kurze Übersicht zu bieten von dem Dialekt, der in meiner ehemaligen Heimat, dem Dorfe Gross Massow in Hinterpommern, gesprochen wurde. Die Arbeit ist das Ergebnis dialektgeographischer Studien, die sich bis in die Vorkriegsjahre erstrecken. Sie war gedacht als kleiner Beitrag zur niederdeutschen Sprache in Ostpommern und ist somit eine bescheidene Ergänzung zu den Vorarbeiten zu einem Pommerschen Wörterbuch, die vor einigen Jahren unter Leitung des Greifswalder Professors Wolfgang Stammler unternommen wurden. Die Arbeit beruht grösstenteils auf mündlicher Überlieferung und ist basiert auf persönliche Nachforschungen.[1] Sie besteht aus zwei Teilen: Teil I ist der grammatische Teil, Teil II gibt die Mundartproben. Da letztere wohl von grösserem Interesse sein sollten, lege ich in dieser Arbeit das Gewicht auf das gesammelte Textmaterial, während ich mich damit begnüge, nur das Wesentlichste der Laut- und Wortlehre enzuführen.

I. TEIL

A. GROSS MASSOW UND SEINE MUNDART: 1. Das Dorf Gross Massow Das Dorf Gross Massow liegt im südlichen Teil des Kreises Lauenburg in Hinterpommern.[2] Der Kreis Lauenburg, mit Lauenburg als Kreisstadt, umfasste den nordöstlichsten Teil Pommerns. Er war im Norden von der Ostsee begrenzt. Im Osten grenzte er an das ehemalige Westpreussen, im Süden an den Kreis Bütow und im Westen an den Stolper Kreis. Gr. M. hatte vor dem Kriege etwa 500 Einwohner. Wann und wie das Dorf entstanden ist, liegt im Dunkeln. Es ist wahrscheinlich von den Wenden gegründet worden.

2. Der Gross Massower Dialekt Der Gross Massower Dialekt gehört zur sog. ostniederdeutschen Sprachfamilie. Das Ostniederdeutsche zerfällt in das Ostpreussische, Westpreussische und Pommersche, letzteres wiederum in das Hinterpommersche und Vorpommersche. Die Gr. M. Mundart ist ein kleiner Zweig des Hinterpommerschen. Der Dialekt wurde nicht nur in Gross Massow selbst, sondern auch in seinen Nachbardörfern und mit einigen Abweichungen im grössten Teil des Kreises Lauenburg gesprochen. Da Gr. M. auf deutschem Kolonialgebiet lag, konnten mehrere Mundarten ihren Einfluss geltend machen. Fremdsprachlichen Einflüssen, namentlich des Polnischen und Kaschubischen, ist der Dialekt auch immer ausgesetzt gewesen. Es ist schwer feste sprachliche Grenzen zu ziehen für einen Dialekt oder einen Dialektzweig. Es ist darum umso bedauernswerter, dass die folgenschweren Umwälzungen und Nachwirkungen des 2. Weltkrieges die Grenzen meines Heimatdialekts, sowie aller ostdeutschen Mundarten, auf immer zu verwischen drohen und dass die Gefahr besteht, dass der Gr. M. D. in kurzer Zeit ganz ausstirbt. In dem Falle wäre ich doppelt froh, durch meine Untersuchungen und Sammlungen etwas für die Nachwelt bewahrt zu haben.

B. DIE LAUTLEHRE Indem ich also in dieser Arbeit von einer ausführlichen Darstellung des Lautsystems absehe, beschränke ich mich hier auf die Mudartlaute, die spezifische Besonderheiten und Abweichungen vom Hochdeutschen aufzuweisen haben.

1. Die Vokale Neben den kurzen und langen a - Lauten gibt es in der Gr. M. Ma. ein langes, dunkles a, das sich dem o nähert, (Schriftzeichen: åå: Ååwent (mnd. awent) - Abend; mååke (as. makon, mnd. maken) - machen.[3] Die Mundart weist einen langen, offenen e - Laut auf (Schriftzeichen: èè. Er kommt vor in offener Silbe: schwèère (as. swerian) - schwören; vor auslautendem r: Dèèr (as. duru) - Tür; und vor _ ≠ d: jefèèrde - gefährden. Daneben gibt es einen e - Laut, der zwischen diesem Laut und dem langen, geschlossenen e (Schriftzeichen: ee) liegt; es ist ein langer, heller ä - Laut (Schriftzeichen: ää): Määke (mnd. megedeken) - Mädchen; Schläätel (as. slutil, mnd. slotel) - Schlüssel. Neben dem kurzen, offenen o gibt es auch ein langes, weit offenes o (Schriftzeichen: ɔɔ). Es steht grösstenteils vor r: Gɔɔrde (mnd. garten) - Garten; klɔɔr - klar. Zu den umgelauteten Vokalen können wir nur ein offenes, kurzes ö zählen, das fast ohne Lippenrundung gesprochen wird. Nur eine beschränkte Anzahl von Wörtern weist diesen Laut auf; er kommt meistens nur in Lehnwörtern vor: Schöttel (mnd. schöttel) - Schüssel; höpsch - hübsch. Langes ö hat die Mundart nicht. Offenes, kurzes ü (Schriftzeichen: ü), mit kaum merklicher Lippenrundung, kommt grösstenteils auch nur in Lehnwörtern vor: Rüje - Rücken; wüsd[4] - wusste, wüsste. Langes ü kommt in der Ma. nicht vor; es wird im allgemeinen durch ii oder ei ersetzt: kühl - kiil; grün - grein. Unter den Diphthongen ist das eu nur in Lehnwörtern aufzuweisen. Diphthongiertes ie (geschr. iie) steht in miie, siie usw.

2. Die Konsonanten Was die Konsonanten betrifft, so erlaube ich mir nur folgende Bemerkungen: Konsonantenwechsel findet statt nach der folgenden Regel: sth. Konsonanten werden stl. vor stl. Konsonanten; stl. Konsonanten werden sth. vor sth. Konsonanten: beecht, biegt - beejd, bog; wecke, wecken - weggd, weckte. Stl. auslautende Konsonanten werden im Inlaut zwischen Vokalen sth.: dreech, trocken - dreejer - trockener; root - rooder. Vor apokopiertem (mnd) e der Endsilbe ist der Konsonant sth.: Weij (mnd. wege) - Wiege; ons - unser; dis - dieser. Grammatischer Wechsel findet statt zwischen r und s: verliere, verlieren - verlest, verliert. Ein besonderer Mitlaut in der Gr. M. Ma. ist das G als palataler, sth. verlarer Spirant (Schriftzeichen: ǥ). Ihn findet man inlautend nach dunklen Vokalen: Hååǥel - Hagel; Roǥe - Roggen, nach dunklen Vokalen vor d: gnååǥd - gnagte; hauǥd - haute, hieb, und auslautend nach dunklen Vokalen: Wååǥ - Waage; drååǥ - trage.

C. DIE WORTLEHRE In bezug auf die Wortlehre möchte ich hier nur Folgendes erwähnen: Wie das Mittelniederdeutsche, so hat auch der Gr. M. D. die drei Geschlechter Maskulinum, Femnium und Neutrum. Der Dialekt hat aber nur zwei bestimmte Artikel: dei (bezw. de), welcher beides männlich und weiblich ist, und dat, das sächliche Geschlechtswort. Der Gr. M. D. hat, wie das Mnd., die beiden Numeri, Singular und Plural. Er hat jedoch nur drei Fälle, da der Genitiv durch Umschreibung ersetzt wird, wie z.B. durch den Dativus possessivus: Miinem Vååder siie Huus es groot - meines Vaters Haus ist gross.

Die Hauptwörter des Gr. M. D. können nach der Pluralbildung in vier Klassen eingeteilt werden:

Klasse	I a	dat Schååp	dei Schååp	Sg. und Pl. gleichlautend
	I b	dei Faut	dei Feit	Umlaut des Stammvokals
	I c	dei Hunt	dei Hund	Erweichung des Endkonsonanten
	I d	dei Knääwel	dei Knäwle	Metathese von einem liquiden Konsonanten und e; also el und er
	II	dat Jδδr	dei Jδδre	e - Plural
	III	dat Derp	dei Derper	er - Plural
	IV	dei Scheffel	dei Scheffels	s - Plural, die zahlreichste Klasse

Was das Verbum anbelangt, so zeigt der Gr. M. D. dem Mnd. sowie der Schriftsprache gegenüber folgende Abweichungen in der Konjugation:

1. Die en - Endung des mnd. sowie des hd. Infinitivs ist in der Ma. durch -e vertreten: griipe (mnd. gripen) - greifen.

2. Das Partizip des Präsens fehlt. Sind Belege dafür aufzuweisen, so sind sie schriftsprachlichen Ursprungs.

3. Das Part. Prät. wird immer ohne die Vorsilbe ge- gebildet (ausser in hochdeutschen Lehnformen): nååme - genommen; haucht - geschlagen, gehauen.

4. Der Konjunktiv existiert nicht, d.h. er hat keine eigentliche Form, sondern fällt mit dem Indikativ zusammen oder wird durch Umschreibung ersetzt.

Die folgenden Paradigmen mögen eine Übersicht von der Flexion eines schwachen und starken Verbs geben:

Präsens

Sg.	ek måål	- ich mahle	ek schriiw	- ich schreibe
	duu måålst		duu schrefst	
	hei, sei, et måålt		hei schreft	
Pl.	wii måále		wii schriiwe	
	jii måále		jii schriiwe	
	sei (dei) måále		sei schriiwe	

Präteritum

Sg.	ek måáld	ek schreef
	duu måáldsd	du schreefst
	hei måáld	hei schreef
Pl.	måálde	schreewe

Perfektum

ek heb måált — ek heb schrääwe

Plusquamperfektum

ek hed måált — ek hed schrääwe

Futurum

ek waar måále — ek waar schriiwe

Futurum exaktum

ek waar måált hebe — ek waar schrääwe hebe

Infinitiv

måále — schriiwe

Imperativ

Sg.	måål	schriif
Pl.	måált	schriift
Höflichkeitsform:	måále Sei	schriiwe Sei

Die starken Verben können ihrem Ablaut nach in sechs, bzw. sieben Klassen eingeteilt werden. Jedoch kann ich hier nicht auf längere flexivische Einzelheiten eingehen und wende mich somit dem volkskundlichen Teil der Arbeit zu.

II. TEIL

A. DIALEKTPROBEN Als erste Sprachprobe führe ich zu Vergleichszwecken einige Sätze nach Wenkers Sprachatlas an.

1. Im Winter fliegen die trockenen Blätter in der Luft herum.
   Em Winter fleije dei dreeje Blääder en de Loft rom.
2. Der gute, alte Mann ist mit dem Pferde durchs Eis gebrochen und in das kalte Wasser gefallen.
   Dei gaud, oll Man es metm Pird ent   bråånke unt en dat kolle Wååter fole.
3. Er ist vor vier oder sechs Wochen gestorben.
   Hei es ver veir oder ses Wääke storwe.
4. Ich will es auch nicht wieder tun.
   Ek wel et uk nich weder daune.
5. Wo gehst du hin, sollen wir mit dir gehen?
   Wo jeest duu hen, sääl wii met dii gååne?
6. Es sind schlechte Zeiten.
   Et (dat) sent schlechte Tiide.
7. Wir sind müde und haben Durst.
   Wii sent meid unt hebe Derscht.
8. Hinter unserm Hause stehen drei schöne Apfelbäumchen mit roten Äpfelchen.
   Hinder onsem Huus stååne drei scheene Appelbeemkes met roode Eppelkes.
9. Ich verstehe euch nicht, ihr müsst ein bisschen lauter sprechen.
   Ek verståå juuch nich, jii määte e beske luuder sprääke.
10. Sein Bruder will sich zwei schöne neue Häuser in eurem Garten bauen.
    Siie Brauder wel sich twei scheene niije Hiiser en juugem Gòòrde buue.

B. SPRICHWÖRTER UND REDENSARTEN "Die Sprache", hat Schiller gesagt, "ist der Spiegel des Volkes". In seinen Sprichwörtern und Redensarten spiegelt sich die scharfe Beobachtungsgabe und Lebensweisheit des Bauern. Ich habe die folgenden sprichwörtlichen Redensarten nicht immer übersetzt, sondern habe es darauf beruhen lassen, gelegentlich Erklärungen und Erläuterungen beizufügen. Dasselbe trifft auch bei anderen Textproben zu.

Von einem dummen Menschen heisst es:

1. Hei es so däämlich as e Bunt Stroo. Oder auch: hei es so domm as Boonestroo.
2. Desgleichen auch: Dei es so däämlich wii dat hinderschte End vom Schwiin.
3. Hei stinkt ver Fuulheit.
4. Dei es frech as Rotz; ein abgebrühter, unverschämter Mensch.
5. Hei set dòòr wii sooe Hupke Ongleck; er sitzt dort wie so ein Häufchen Unglück; so heisst es von einem unglücklichen Menschen. Oder auch: hei set dòòr, as wenn hei nich fiif telle kun.
6. Gåå nich enne Netle aa verbrenn dii, gehe nicht in die Nesseln und verbrenne dich, d.h., kümmere dich nicht um anderer Leute Sachen.
7. Woorum schlooch de Diiwel siin Grossmodder? Dieses sagt man, wenn man gefragt wird und keine passende Antwort hat.
8. Von einem eingebildeten Menschen heisst es: hei denkt uk Schwiindreck es siin Brauder.
9. Spott ma nich, de Uul es uk a Våågel. Spotte nur nicht, die Eule ist auch ein Vogel, d.h. es muss eben auch hässliche Menschen geben.
10. Das altbekannte "Wenn dich die bösen Buben locken, so folge ihnen nicht" ist im Gross Massowschen durch folgende parodistische Version vertreten: wenn dii dei beese Buube locke, denn nem de Holtkork un loop op Socke.

11. Will man jemandem klar machen, dass er nicht tun kann, was er will, so sagt man wohl: duu kanst dei Kat underm Schwanz lecke.

12. Von lügenhaften Menschen sagt man: hei leicht soo, dat de Heiner vom Reck falle; er lügt so, dass die Hühner vom Reck fallen.

13. Dei stret sich noch vom Galje loos. Das sagt man von einem, der immer eine Ausrede hat und sich auch immer gern ereifert.

14. Will man sich etwas Besonderes merken, so sagt man wohl: dat waar ek mii met wite Kriid enne Schornstein schriiwe; das werde ich mir mit weisser Kreide in den Schornstein schreiben.

15. Ist man zum Essen eingeladen worden und das Essen war nicht besonders gut zubereitet, so heisst es wohl: dei hede ne richtije oll Poontschk tusÅÅmekÅÅkt. 'Poontschk' (aus dem Polnischen 'pascek') ist eine schlechte Suppe oder Brei.

16. Die Worte "Hei siit uk de Himmel fer ne Duudelsack an" bezeichnen einen Menschen, der zur Selbstgefälligkeit neigt.

Altbekannte Sprichwörter sind:

17. Kemt Tiit, kemt RÅÅt, kemt de Friijððr, kemt de SÅÅt. Alles wird sich zum Besten wenden.

18. Greine Wiinachte, wite Oostre, wite Wiinachte, greine Oostre.

19. Wat de Ooǥen nich seine, deet dem Herze nich wei.

20. Wenn de Kat nich tuus es, danze de Miis̲ opm Tellerrant.

C. ABERGLAUBEN Die meisten Menschen sind bis zu einem gewissen Grade abergläubisch. Es besteht kein Zweifel, dass der primitive Gemeinschaftsgeist des Bauern dem Aberglauben besonders verfallen zu sein scheint. Geburt, Hochzeit, Tod, die drei wichtigsten Ereignisse des menschlichen Lebens, Saat - und Erntezeit, Glück und Unglück, Krankheit u. dgl., das alles betrachtet der Bauer mit abergläubischer Scheu. Um diese Ereignisse dreht sich sein ganzes Denken und Tun. Ich habe in den folgenden Beispielen einige derjenigen Elemente anzuführen versucht, die für den Bauer wichtig sind.

1. Wenn de Uul schrecht, es dat Ongleck nich wiit.

2. Wenn duu woo jeest un heerscht dei Krei schriije, denn schrecht se dii Ongleck tau; wenn du gehst und hörst die Krähe schreien, so schreit sie dir Unglück zu.

3. Wenn duu hest wat verjÄÄte unt jeest tuurick, hest duu Ongleck. Wenn du etwas vergessen hast und gehst zurück, hast du Unglück.

4. Wenn de HÅÅs̲ dii ääwer de Wech lept von rechts nÅÅ links, denn hest duu Ongleck. Läuft der Hase dir über den Weg von der rechten Seite nach der linken, so hast du Unglück.

5. Wenn duu vääl Solt verstreist, most duu weine o best onglecklich.

6. KÅÅme dem Kind de erschte Tääne von unde, denn waart et olt; kÅÅme de erschte ober von bÅÅwe, so waart et nich olt. Kommen dem Kinde die ersten Zähne von unten, dann wird es alt; kommen sie ihm aber zuerst von oben, dann wird es nicht alt.

7. Wenn dei Fruu jeet met dem Kind unt kickt durch dat Schläätelloch oder met einem Ooǥ enne Flasch, denn schiilt et. Wenn die Frau mit einem Kinde geht, d.h. schwanger ist, und sie guckt durch ein Schlüsselloch oder mit einem Auge in eine Flasche, so schielt das Kind.

8. Wenn de VÅÅǥel ant Fenster flecht, krechst duu ne DoodennÅÅricht. Wenn der Vogel an das Fenster fliegt, bekommst du eine Totennachricht.

9. Wer siine Truuring dat erschte verlest, dei staarft tuerscht. Wer seinen Trauring zuerst verliert, derjenige der beiden Ehegatten stirbt zuerst.

10. Wenn de Määkes piipe o de Heiner kreie, mot ma ððr bii Tiit dat Gneck afdreie. Wenn die Mädchen pfeifen und die Hühner krähen, muss man ihnen bei Zeiten den Kopf (das Genick) abdrehen.

D. RÄTSEL UND REIME Die folgenden Rätsel waren altbekannt in Hinterpommern:

1. Op onsem Bääne licht wat, dat hat Heern; auf unserm Boden liegt was, das hat Hörner. (Der Backtrog, oder auch der Stiefelknecht).

2. An onsem Huus̲
Hengt ne Bomelbuus̲,
Wenn de leiw Sonn scheint,
Onse Bommelbuus̲ weint.

An unserm Hause
Hängt eine Bummelbuse,
Wenn die liebe Sonne scheint,
Unsere Bummelbuse weint.

(Der Eiszapfen)

3. Erscht wit wii Schnei,
Denn grein wii Gras,
Denn root wii Blaut.

Erst weiss wie Schneee,
Dann grün wie Gras,
Dann rot wie Blut.

(Die Kirsche)

Ein beliebter Abzählreim war: Mååle, mååle Gretke, jef deem wat, deem uk wat, deem riit de Kopp af.

Die erste Strophe der bekannten Volksweise "Ich hab mich ergeben" parodierten die Gr. Massower Jungen oft folgendermassen:

Ek heb mii erjääwe	Ich habe mir gegeben
Met de Holtkork ent Gneck,	Eine Holzpantoffel ins Genick,
Puultoffle es miin Lääwe	Pellkartoffeln sind mein Leben
Un Heering es miin Gleck.	Und Hering ist mein Glück.

Ein bekanntes Wiegenlied lautet im Hinterpommerschen folgendermassen:

Schlååp, Kintke, schlååp,	Schlååp, Kintke, schlååp,
Diie Vååder es e Schååp,	Buute stååne de Schååp,
Diin Modder es e Trampeltiir,	Benne steet de bunte Bock,
wat kanst duu aarmet Worm dafiir.	Fret de kleine Kinder op.

Sehen die Kinder den Storch einherstolzieren, so singen sie wohl, wenn sie sich eine neue Schwester wünschen:

Klapperstorch op einem Bein,
Bring mii doch e Schwesterlein,
Hest jaa roode Hooskes an,
Jeest jaa wii e Edelman.

Und die nicht ganz so Wählerischen singen:

Klapperstorch, duu Bester,
Bring mii doch ne Schwester,
Klapperstorch, duu Gauder,
Bring mii doch ne Brauder.

Folgenden Kinderreim bekam man auch oft zu hören:

Heididlumdeike,	Heididlumdei,
De Kat dei lääd e Eike	Die Katze legte ein Ei,
De Kååter wul et sich brååde,	Der Kater wollte es sich braten,
Et wul em nich jerååde.	Es wollte ihm nicht geraten.

Machen die Jungen sich Pfeifen aus Weidenholz, so sagen sie folgenden Vers auf, indem sie das Holz mit dem Messer beklopfen, damit sie den Bast abziehen können:

Piipke gåå mii	Pfeifchen geh mir
Oder ek schlåå dii	Oder ich schlage dir
Diie kleie Koppke af;	Dein kleines Köpfchen ab;
Wenn de Roǥe riipe,	Wenn der Roggen reif ist,
Un de Poǥe piipe,	Und die Frösche quaken,
Piff, paff, duu best af.	Piff, paff, dann bist du ab.

Ich möchte zum Schluss kurz einige Bemerkungen zur Sprachgeschichte der Gr. M. Ma. hinzufügen. Es liesse sich leicht an angeführten Beispielen zeigen, dass das Westfälische und Ostfälische zu den Hauptdialekten gehören, auf die die Gr. M. Ma. zurückgehen muss. Es besteht also die Annahme, dass die deutschen Kolonisten, die den Kreis Lauenburg germanisierten, früher einmal eine Stammesgemeinschaft mit den Ost - und Westfalen gehabt hatten. Sie fanden im Lauenburger Lande aber eine slavische Bevölkerung vor, und, wenn es ihnen auch gelang, diese immer mehr zurückzudrängen, so nahmen sie doch slavische Wörter in ihre nd. Ma. auf, besonders Pflanzen - und Tiernamen, Schimpfnamen und Orts- und Flurnamen. So findet man im Hinterpommerschen slavische Ausdrücke wie 'Mläätsch' (slav. mlecz) - Löwenzahn, 'Kadek' (slav. kadak) - Wacholder; 'Kos' (slav. koza) - alte, magere Ziege, 'Ruchatsch' (slav. ruchacz) - ein Herumtreiber, Schimpfname für den Hund, sowie Schimpfnamen wie 'Lorbas' - ungezogener Mensch, 'Schubjak' - ungeschlachter Mensch und 'Marjel' - unordentliches Mädchen.

Ich schliesse mit einigen Beispielen von Ruf - und Locknamen:

Butschke, Butsch, Butsch!	Lockruf für die Schweine.
Tiipe, Tiip, Tiip!	Lockruf für Hühner.
Fiite, Fiit, Fiit!	Lockruf für Enten.
Piile, Piile, Piile!	Lockruf für Gänse.
Schuk, Schuk!	Lockruf für den Hund.

Ich hoffe, es ist mir mittels dieser wenigen volkskundlichen Angaben halbwegs gelungen, Ihnen einen kleinen Einblick zu verschaffen in die Denk - und Lebensweise eines nunmehr leider in alle Winde zerstreuten kleinen deutschen Volkstammes, dessen Anschauungen und Lebensformen begründet waren durch die heimatliche Erde, auf der sie sich jahrhundertelang so hartnäckig behauptet hatten.

Notes

[1] Es versteht sich, dass andere Arbeiten am Dialekt zu Rate gezogen wurden, von denen Kurt Picks *Grammatik der Lauenburger Mundart* (Greifswald: Bamberg, 1928) und Kurt Mischkes *Rummelsburger und Bütower Mundart* (Greifswald: Bamberg, 1936) besondere Erwähnung verdienen.

[2] Heute gehört Hinterpommern zu Polen. Das Dorf Gross Massow führt jetzt den Namen 'Maszewo', während Lauenburg 'Lebork' heisst.

[3] Ich habe für die Zwecke dieser Arbeit eine vereinfachte phonetische Darstellung der Mundartlaute vorgenommen, bin aber, was die Rechtschreibung betrifft, nicht immer ganz folgerichtig vorgegangen, namentlich bei den Mitlauten. Ich habe, z.B. nicht immer Verdoppelung von Konsonanten vermieden. Bei den Vokalen bin ich jedoch konsequent verfahren: alle langen Vokale habe ich verdoppelt ohne Ausnahme. Das Dehnungs - h habe ich durchweg fallen lassen.

[4] *s* bedeutet sth. s - Laut [z].

DISJOINTED NOUN MODIFIERS IN FRENCH

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0.1 This paper offers the argument that, besides the usual "conjointed noun modifiers" in French, there are also "disjointed noun modifiers." A variety of constructions fall under this heading that are not commonly grouped together, although they share not only the basic syntactic function of noun modification, but also a number of specific distinctive features. The attempt will be made to categorize these "disjointed modifiers" and to describe the mechanism of "disjunction" systematically and in such a way as to facilitate an application to the teaching/learning situation. An explication of all transformational steps involved in the various types of disjunction is however not possible in a brief paper.

0.2 In French, the normal relationship between modifier and modified noun is, generally speaking, determined by three or four basic principles of syntactic cohesion: first, the modifier is formally connected to the modified. Two different kinds of formal connection exist: the first, for adjectives, is the so-called "accord," the agreement in number and gender with the modified noun. For all other modifiers, a connector such as a preposition or a relative word is used. Second, in the actual speech act, the modifier and the modified together represent a stress and intonation unit. Criteria for an accurate definition of this intonation unit seem to be lacking, yet the principle is very important for a description of the modified-modifier relationship (as well as for the distinction between conjointed and disjointed modifiers). Third, the modifier is placed contiguously, or as closely as possible to the modified. And fourth, it is usually placed in postposition.[1] The following sentences illustrate the importance of these well-known principles none of which, with the exception of the noun-adjective "accord," is, however, absolute (henceforth, the modifier in question is underlined in grammatical sentences): (1) a. La publication *du livre* fut un succès. b. *La publication fut du livre un succès. c. *Du livre la publication fut un succès. (2) a. Le président est un homme *extraordinaire*. b. *Le président est un homme, extraordinaire. c. *Le président est un, extraordinaire, homme. (3) a. Le programme *de télévision* est intéressant aujourd'hui. b. *Le programme télévision est intéressant aujourd'hui. (4) a. Le monsieur *que nous avons vu*, c'est son frère. b. *Le monsieur nous avons vu, c'est son frère. (5) a. Il connaît cette femme *charmante*. b. *Il connaît cette femme charmant. All the grammatical sentences above contain what could be called "conjointed modifiers," that is to say modifiers firmly linked, by various syntactical devices of cohesion, to their modified nouns.

1.1 In contrast with this first, basic type of noun modification, there is a second type in which the modifier is "disjointed" from the modified. The syntactical or grammatical cohesion between the two is loosened or suspended. Let us consider the following sentences: (6) L'abbé Prévost, *le fameux écrivain du 18e siècle*, l'a illustré dans ses romans. (7) Voltaire adressa cette lettre à Rousseau, *son ennemi favori*. (8) Une voiture, *la mienne*, est en panne. (9) Le jeune homme, *grand et svelte*, attirait sur lui tous les regards. (10) Leur petite fille, *criant "Maman!,"* venait à leur rencontre. (11) La vieille femme, *debout près de la fenêtre*, le regardait tristement.

In all of these sentences, the modifier is effectively "disjointed": first of all, there is the pause or the two pauses, symbolized in writing by a comma or commas, separating the modifier from the modified, and as in sentences 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, from the rest of the sentence. The intonational unit is disrupted. Secondly, no connector is used. On the other hand, the principle of postposition and contiguity is fully maintained.[2] The disjunction is not, grammatically speaking, complete. Modifiers like those occuring in the above sentences can all be grouped together and labeled by the traditional term "apposition." This type of apposition could be described as a "modification by moderate disjunction."[3]

1.2 Before going into a more detailed analysis of the common features shared by modifiers in apposition, let us also consider these sentences: (12) *Grand architecte et constructeur de forteresses*, Vauban était un des personnages les plus connus de son temps. (13) Paul était là, *un homme comme il en faut*. (14) Heureux de quitter les terres hostiles de la Perse, le roi repartit aux Indes. (15) Le roi repartit aux Indes, *heureux de quitter les terres hostiles de la Perse*. (16) *Croyant toujours à l'innocence de leurs enfants*, il n'avaient jamais envisagé cette possibilité. (17) Ils n'avaient jamais envisagé cette possibilité, *croyant toujours à l'innocence de leurs enfants*. (18) Charles la voyait souvent à la Sorbonne, *secrètement amoureux d'elle, mais se contentant de lui parler de mille choses banales*. (19) Charles la voyait souvent à la Sorbonne, *radiante et toujours entourée d'amis*. (20) Je l'entendais dans la chambre voisine, *toussant et tremblant de froid*.

It appears that in these cases, the disjunction of the modifier is more radical than in the apposition. Here the principle of postposition is also suspended. I propose to call this second type of modification by disjunction, in which the modifier is dislocated, tentatively "extraposition." A modifier in apposition functions inside the nuclear sentence, in extraposition outside of it, as is illustrated by the following simplified diagram: S = subject, V = verb, O = object (see Figure 1 below). Since, with the apposition, the principle of postposition is applied, there is generally no question as to what element is the modified; it is simply the immediately preceding noun or pronoun. With the extraposition, on the contrary, the situation is more complicated. For the dislocated modifier could theoretically refer to any noun or pronoun in the sentence nucleus. In actual fact, however, the number of possible relationships of modification is reduced to practically only three (the relationship of modification is symbolized in Figure 2 below by means of a single, closed-head arrow: modified ⟵ modifier).

The dislocated modifier in final position, then, is potentially ambiguous, unless there is "accord" as in sentences 18 or 19. In sentences like 20 where there is no formal check on ambiguity, in actual speech practice, the final position for a subject modifier seems generally to be avoided. In other words: something like a principle of "relative distance" replaces that of direct contiguity.

2.1 From the above, it can be concluded that apposition and extraposition are not different in nature, but rather in the degree of positional autonomy. The distinction between the two seems, in certain cases, arbitrary. One might ask for example, whether a disjointed noun object modifier in final position, as in sentence 7, could not be classified both as apposition and as extraposition. However, by classifying such a case as apposition (feature: + contiguity) and a disjointed personal pronoun modifier in final position, as in sentence 20, as extraposition (feature: - contiguity), the distinction becomes simple and convenient for purposes of systematic description and didactic application. The extraposition is the second step or phase in the process of modifier disjunction (see Figure 3 below).

2.2 The disjunction of noun modifiers can be described as a complex dynamic mechanism in which two major syntactic processes are applied. The first is what I have proposed to call "transposition," the second "reduction."[5] By "transposition," I understand that process by which a sentence is made to assume a function, here the function of modifier, within another sentence. Underlying a disjointed modifier, there is always an embedded sentence.[6] This fact, in addition to the suspension of two or more principles of syntactic cohesion, supports the distinction between conjointed and disjointed modifiers.[7] The underlying embedded sentence may actually appear on the surface as a relative clause in apposition, that is to say as a relative clause separated from its antecedent by a pronounced pause or in writing by a comma, as in: (21) Le président, qui d'ailleurs est breton, a rejeté l'idée d'ouvrir une nouvelle usine à Brest.[8] For most disjointed modifiers however, the underlying sentence is reduced to a skeleton structure by the deletion of the relative connector and the manipulation or transformation of its verb.

2.3 If, as is suggested here, the point of departure for the analysis of disjointed noun modifiers is the underlying relative clause, two types of verb transformation can be distinguished.

1. $$\underset{[+\text{ conj.}]}{\text{Verb}} \longrightarrow \underset{[-\text{ conj.}]}{\text{Verb}}$$

as in sentences 10, 16, 17, and also 20, for example: (10) Leur petite fille, criant "Maman!," venait à leur rencontre. Leur petite fille, qui criait "Maman!," venait à leur rencontre.

2. $$\underset{[+]}{\text{Verb}} \longrightarrow \underset{[-]}{\text{Verb}}$$

as in sentences 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, for example: (9) Le jeune homme, grand et svelte, attirait sur lui tous les regards. Le jeune homme, qui était grand et svelte, attirait sur lui tous les regards.

3.1 In the immediately preceding paragraphs, I have argued (1) that all disjointed modifiers can be traced back to, and explained by, underlying embedded sentences, and (2) that the verb in such an embedded sentence can be either left untouched (a), or transformed into a nonconjugated verbal form (b), or deleted altogether (c). If these observations are correct, the disjointed modifiers, as they occur in actual sentences, can be classified in three categories. The disjointed modifier may be a relative clause (which, as has been pointed out, occurs only in apposition). Or it may be a present-participle verb phrase (which is easily recognized in French by the fact that there is no "accord" between the participle and the noun it refers to, as in sentences 10, 16, 17). Or it may be a noun phrase. The latter cam be rewritten as follows:

$$\text{NP} \longrightarrow \begin{cases} \text{Adjective/Adj. Participle} & \text{(sent. 9, 14, 15, 19)} \\ \text{Noun/Pronoun} & \text{(sent. 6, 7, 8, 12, 13)} \\ \text{Prep. Phrase/Adv.} & \text{(sent. 11)} \end{cases}$$

Occasionally, an infinitive may function as a disjointed modifier, for example: (22) une seule ambition, écrire des poèmes, dominait sa vie. Une seule ambition, qui était d'écrire des poèmes, dominait sa vie. This construction is probably best categorized as an NP, the noun character of the infinitive being clearly marked in the underlying sentence by "de":[9] NP ⟶ infinitive (sent. 22). The construction is peculiar in that the noun marker "de" is deleted in the process of disjunction, and in that, if it occurs in initial position, the modified usually seems to need a demonstrative determiner acting as an indirect link with the modifying infinitive: (23) Ecrire des poèmes, cette seule ambition dominait sa vie.

3.2 There are thus two criteria of description and analysis. In question form, they read: (1) which principles of syntactic cohesion have been suspended? and (2) which type of verb transformation has been applied? The characteristics of the various types of disjointed modifiers are illustrated in Figure 4.

4.1 In the light of the preceding discussion, one has no difficulty in understanding what could be called "pseudo-autonomous noun phrases," for example: (24) Marie revient, le teint jaunâtre. (25) La tête baissée, il réfléchissait longuement. (26) Les journalistes l'attendaient, stylo en bataille. These seemingly autonomous noun phrases are disjointed modifiers whose verb, "avoir," has been subjected to both verb transformations.[11] The "pseudo-autonomous noun phrases" are somewhat more limited in their application than disjointed modifiers in general in that, practically, they refer only to the subject of the sentence.

4.2 A construction that is particularly interesting in our context is the "gérondif." On the one hand, it could be considered a disjointed noun modifier: its formal and semantic relationship with the present participle is obvious, and it refers to a noun or pronoun. At the same time, however, the "gérondif" must be considered what I have called on another occasion a "sentence modifier": the "gérondif" is adequately rewritten as an adverb (rather than an adjective) sentence.[12] (27) *En servant de guide aux touristes*, Jean a appris deux langues étrangères. Parce qu'il a servi de guide aux touristes, Jean a appris deux langues étrangères. (28) *Tout en étant malade*, il reçoit continuellement des messagers et des conseillers. Bien qu'il soit malade, il reçoit continuellement des messagers et des conseillers.

5. From the preceding discussion, the following conclusions can be drawn: (1) there are two classes of noun modifiers, conjointed and disjointed modifiers; (2) disjointed noun modifiers can be categorized into two subclasses, apposition and extraposition, the latter being the more radical disjunction; (3) disjointed modifiers may appear, on the surface, as complete sentences, participle verb phrases or noun phrases; (4) disjointed modifiers can all be traced back to underlying embedded sentences; (5) due to their positional mobility, the disjointed noun modifiers approach the sentence modifiers; (6) the "gérondif" can actually be interpreted as the link between noun modifiers and sentence modifiers. It may be added that, from the point of view of language stylistics, the disjointed noun modifiers, just as the sentence modifiers, play an important role in French in that they provide the speaker with a number of possibilities in introducing variety and flexibility into the otherwise rather rigid French sentence structure. The usefulness of the concept of "disjointed noun modifiers" both for linguistic description and didactic application seems thus beyond doubt.

Notes

[1] A differentiation between contiguity and postposition does not seem crucial for the analysis of disjointed noun modifiers and will not be made in this paper.

[2] In a sentence like "Et là je vis, spectacle étrange, (. . .) passer des spectres en plein jour," quoted in Maurice Grevisse, *Le Bon Usage*. *Grammaire Française*, 7^{e} éd. rev. (Paris: Librairie Geuthner, 1959), p. 153, what appears to be an apposition preceding the modified phrase is better explained as an independent, inserted sentence reduced to a noun phrase and referring as much to the verb "voir" as to the following "passer des spectres."

[3] Personal pronouns in apposition like in "Paul, lui, n'a rien dit" do not function as modifiers properly speaking, but rather as "emphatic dislocators"; see Wolf Hollerbach, "Syntactic Devices of Emphasis in Contemporary French," *Proceedings of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages*, 25, 2, ed. Hector Hammerly and Isabel Sawyer (Corvallis, Ore.: PNCFL, 1975), pp. 238-50.

[4] Since the "accord" as a connecting mechanism is never suspended, it is here disregarded as a distinctive feature.

[5] See Wolf Hollerbach, "A Model for the Teaching of Advanced Syntax in a Foreign Language," *Modern Language Journal*, 59 (1975), pp. 256-62; also in Hammerly and Sawyer, *op. cit*., pp. 196-208.

[6] As regards the apposition, Grevisse, *op. cit*., p. 153, has clearly recognized this fact when he writes: "L'apposition équivaut à une proposition relative elliptique." On the other hand, he groups under the term "apposition" phenomena that, by the criteria adopted here, are not "disjointed modifiers" and to which the statement quoted above does not apply.

[7] Theoretically, conjointed adjective modifiers can be rewritten as embedded sentences. With regard to an application to foreign language teaching, this procedure seems however an unnecessary complication. Modifiers like in "Du royaume entier il est maintenant le maître" are not derived from embedded sentences and are thus not considered true disjointed modifiers.

[8] By the criterion of intonation, a relative clause like "Nous l'entendions qui toussait et gémissait dans la chambre voisine" also cannot be regarded a disjointed modifier although it is certainly not immediately contiguous to the modified.

[9] See Pierre Guiraud, *La Syntaxe du français*, 4^{e} éd. (Paris: P.U.F., 1970), p. 80.

[10] The definition of modifiers in apposition offered by Jean-Claude Chevalier et al., *Grammaire Larousse du français contemporain* (Paris: Larousse, 1965), pp. 78-79, is far too narrow: present-participle VP, pronoun, prep. phrase or adverb, and infinitive are left out. Moreover, the example given as a relative clause in apposition is not convincing.

[11] In pedagogical grammars and textbooks, these "pseudo-autonomous noun phrases" are often disregarded entirely or confused with so-called "absolute" participle constructions. Such is the case for example in Moritz Regula, *Grammaire française explicative* (Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 1957), p. 203.

[12] See Wolf Hollerbach, *Modern Language Journal*, 59 (1975), p. 206.

Figure 1.

		Nuclear Sentence	
Apposition		S + disj. M. V O + disj. M.	
Extraposition	Disj. M.	V O	disj. M.

Figure 2.

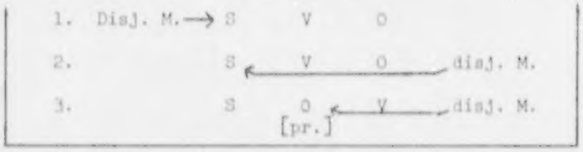

Figure 3.

	Conjointed M.	Disjointed M.	
		Apposition	Extraposition
Connector[4]	+	-	-
Inton. Unit	+	-	-
Postp./Contig.	+	+	-
In Sent. Nucl.	+	+	-

Figure 4.

		Suspension of:			Verb Transform.			
		Inton. Unit	Connec. Word	Postp./ Contig.	V [+ conj.]	V [- conj.]	V [+]	V [-]
Apposition	Rel. Clause	+	-	-	-		-	
	Pr. Part. VP	+	+	-	+		-	
	NP[10]	+	+	-	+		+	
Extraposition	Pr. Part. VP	+	+	+	+		-	
	NP	+	+	+	+		+	

DIE SLOWENISCHE MINDERHEIT IN ÖSTERREICHS SÜDKÄRNTEN

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Wie viele andere Länder der Erde musste auch das kleine Österreich vor einigen Jahren die Tatsache zur Kenntnis nehmen, dass es innerhalb seiner sieben Millionen Einwohner auch geringe slawische Minderheiten beherbergt. Natürlich ist diese Tatsache nicht neu. Sie wurde schon 1918 bei den Friedensverhandlungen in St. Germain als Problem erkannt und hat einen auf Jahrhunderte zurückgehenden Hintergrund. Für diese kurzen Ausführungen sollen die drei Phasen des Problems der Südkärntner Slawen umrissen werden: 1) die historische Entwicklung; 2) die kritische Zeit 1918-1920, die Grundlage für heute; 3) die gegenwärtige Sachlage.

Ad 1. Das Gebiet, um das es sich handelt, ist klein: Ein paar Bergtäler im Grenzland des heutigen Österreichs gegen Jugoslawien. Die Nordgrenze verläuft in leicht nordwestlicher Richtung, etwa längs des Drautals über Villach, den Wörthersee und Klagenfurt. Die ersten slawischen Volkselemente kamen im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert aus Mähren nach Süden und überschichteten oder verdrängten keltische und noch ältere illyrische Ureinwohner. Eine Reihe von weiteren Verdrängungen und Überschichtungen, wie so oft in der Völkerwanderungszeit, folgte, in der sich jedoch die Slawen behaupten konnten. In den folgenden Jahrhunderten nach etwa dem Jahre 1000 n. Chr., die nach den Babenbergern in Österreich vor allem den Aufstieg des Hauses Habsburg sahen, wurde in Kärnten und dem südlich davon gelegenen Krain jene Grundlage geschaffen, die die Zwiesprachigkeit und Mischbevölkerung des Gebietes anerkannte. Eine entscheidende Phase begann mit der Reformation: Viele Slawen folgten den Lehren Martin Luthers, und 1555 erschienen die ersten Bücher in slawischer Sprache. Die bald folgende Gegenreformation setzte hier um so grausamer und heftiger ein und merzte alle Spuren des Protestantismus aus. Heute sind alle Slawen überzeugte Katholiken, ja die Führung liegt oft in den Händen katholischer Priester. Unter der Herrschaft Maria Theresias (1740-1780) und ihres Sohnes, Josefs II. (1780-90), herrschte eine freiheitlichere Stimmung: 1777 veröffentlichte Oswald Gutsmann die erste "Windische Sprachlehre" - allerdings auf Deutsch. Nach Jahrzehnten der Verwirrung durch Napoleons Eroberungszüge gelangte Österreich schliesslich wieder in den Besitz seiner slawischen Provinzen. Ein neuer nationaler Führer, Jernej Kopitar (1780-1844), sah die Lösung der Frage in einer Vereinigung aller Slawen unter katholischer Führung. Er war es auch, der zum ersten Mal den Namen "Slowenen" für die bisher üblichen deutschen Namen "Wenden" oder "Serben" einführte. Wichtig scheint hier zu betonen, dass Kaisertreue und bewusste Abwehr des unter russischem Einfluss stehenden Panslawismus essentielle Programmpunkte waren. Das Ergebnis dieser Entwicklung war eine fortschreitende Verdeutschung und Assimimilation, die jedoch nicht den nationalbewussten Kern der Slowenen berührten. Als 1848 Kaiser Franz Josef I. den Thron bestieg, stand er unter dem Druck sozialer und nationaler Revolutionen und versuchte den Slawen gegenüber eine Konzessionspolitik zu betreiben, die allerdings angesichts der Uneinigkeit unter den verschiedenen Fraktionen nur geringe Erfolge erzielte. Zwischen 1869 und 1878 wurden einige bis in unsere Zeit wirkende Massnahmen offiziell gebilligt, insbesonders der Gebrauch der deutschen und slowenischen Sprache in Gerichten, Regierungsveröffentlichungen (Gesetzen) und amtlichen Verlautbarungen. Aber trotz der Unterstützung durch kaiserfeindliche Serben ging der slowenische Bevölkerungsanteil von 26.6% (1880) auf 18.3% (1910) zurück. Durch Entwicklung des Eisenbahnnetzes und durch steigende Anteilnahme an der Prosperität, die die zunehmende Industrialisierung mit sich brachte, ergab sich der Zustand, der noch 1918 für die Entscheidungen ausschlaggebend war: slowenisch wurde nur von einer geringen Minderheit in den wenig zugänglichen Hintertälern gesprochen.

Ad 2. Bald nach Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs setzten sich slawische Nationalführer wie Frano Supilo und Ante Trumbic nach Westeuropa ab, wo sie bei einflussreichen Engländern wie Henry Wickham Steed und R. W. Watson-Seton Gehör und Unterstützung fanden. Als 1917 auch die USA in den Krieg eingriffen und gleichzeitig das nunmehr sowjetische Russland als Führer der Panslawisten ausfiel, bestellte Präsident Woodrow Wilson eine Kommission, die sich ausschliesslich mit dem Problem der Südslawen befassen sollte. Trotz umfangreicher Forschungen, zahlreicher Berichte und einer die Slawen begünstigenden Grundhaltung enthielt der 10. Punkt von Wilsons bekannten 14 Punkten zu den Friedensverhandlungen nur die vage Andeutung, dass allen Völkern Österreich-Ungarns das "freiste Bestimmungsrecht für autonome Entwicklung" zugesichert werden sollte. Als am 11. November 1918 die Monarchie zu Ende und die kleine Republik Österreich gegründet war, fielen jugoslawische Truppenverbände in Südkärnten ein und besetzten das Rosental, das untere Gailtal und Ferlach. Bis Juni 1919 fanden hier erbitterte Kämpfe statt, in denen es 214 Tote und über 800 Verletzte gab, bis schliesslich die alliierte Friedenskommission durch eine neutrale Zone die Kämpfenden bis zur endgültigen Entscheidung trennte. Unter dem Druck dieser blutigen Ereignisse arbeitete der oberste Rat der Friedenskommission in Paris, dem Präsident Wilson, der englische Ministerpräsident Lloyd-George und der französische Regierungschef Georges Clemenceau angehörten, die Artikel 49 und 50 aus, die sich auf Kärnten beziehen (Juni/Juli 1919). Danach sollte das umstrittene Gebiet südlich von Villach - Wörthersee - Klagenfurt bis zu der Gipfellinie der Karawanken in zwei ost-westlich verlaufende Zonen geteilt und die einheimische Bevölkerung zu einer Volksabstimmung aufgefordert und vorbereitet werden. Die südlichere, grössere Zone A sollte zuerst befragt werden und im Falle eines für Jugoslawien günstigen Ergebnisses sollte drei Wochen später auch in Zone B abgestimmt werden. Sollte das Ergebnis der Abstimmung in Zone A zugunsten Österreichs ausgehen, würde in Zone B überhaupt keine Abstimmung gehalten werden, da eine überwiegend deutschsprechende Bevölkerung in dieser als gegeben schien, und das ganze Gebiet Österreich zugesprochen werden. Die Volksabstimmungskommission wurde im April 1920 bestellt und das Datum der Abstimmung als der 10. Oktober 1920 festgelegt.

In den dazwischenliegenden Monaten wurde auf beiden Seiten soviel Propaganda gemacht, als es nur irgend ging. Stimmberechtigt waren alle Männer und Frauen, die am 1. Januar 1919 das 20. Lebensjahr oder mehr erreicht hatten und deren Geburtsort oder nachweislicher Wohnsitz seit 12. Januar 1912 in der Zone A lag. Das Ergebis der Volksabstimmung war folgendes:

Gesamtzahl der abgegebenen Stimmen	39,291
Davon ungültig	1,987
Für Österreich	22,025 (59.04%)
Für Jugoslawien	15,279 (41.96%)

Von allen Stimmberechtigten beteiligten sich 95.96% an der Wahl. So wurden also alle nördlich der Karawanken lebenden Slowenen und Wenden mit diesem Tag österreichische Staatsbürger und das Problem schien gelöst.

Ad 3. Dabei blieb es auch für geraume Zeit. Tatsächlich hatten Kärntens Slowenen schon 1914-1918 auf österreichischer Seite gegen Serbien gekämpft und 1918/19 freiwillig am Abwehrkampf gegen Jugoslawien teilgenommen. Nach 1920 war bis Mitte des zweiten Weltkriegs von einer slowenischen Minderheit in Kärnten kaum etwas zu hören, ja die fast 42%ige Minderheit schien fast vergessen und wurde jedenfalls stark herabgespielt. Hitlers Machtergreifung in Osterreich im März 1938 und die bald danach einsetzende nationalsozialistische rassenpolitische Propaganda, die alle slawischen Völker als den Deutschen unterlegen bezeichnete, dürfte zum Erwachen des nationalen Bewusstseins der Slowenen erneut beigetragen haben. Nach dem 1943 erfolgten Angriff auf Sowjetrussland wurden mit Stalins Befürwortung wieder panslawistische Stimmen laut und 1947 wurden von Marschall Tito auf dem Panslawistischen Kongress in Belgrad und bald danach im Rat der Aussenminister in London Anschuldigungen gegenüber Österreich bezüglich seiner Behandlung des Minderheitenproblems erhoben. 1947/48 forderten die jugoslawischen Delegationen zu der Londoner und der Moskauer Konferenz sogar die Abtrennung der Südkärntner Provinzen. Aber fast gleichzeitig erfolgte die Absage Titos an Stalin und die Sowjetunion sah keinen Grund mehr zur aktiven Unterstützung jugoslawischer Forderungen. Im Juni 1949 wurde auf der Pariser Konferenz der Artikel 5 in das Protokoll aufgenommen, der die Grenzen Österreichs, wie sie vor 1938 bestanden hatten, anerkannte. Als Protest weigerte sich Jugoslawien bis 1951 den offiziell noch immer bestehenden Kriegszustand zwischen Österreich und Jugoslawien als aufgehoben zu erklären. In Kärnten selbst ergab sich inzwischen eine dreifache Teilung der politischen Einstellung: Die meisten Anhänger fand die prokatholische Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP), die in Kärnten unter der Führung von Dr. Josef Tischler stand. Die zweitgrösste Zahl aktiver Angehöriger zählte die jugoslawienfreundliche Freiheitliche Front unter der Führung von Martin und Fran Zwitter. Als dritte und kleinste Gruppe bildete sich eine moskaufreundliche Partei der slowenischen Kämpfer, die technisch wohl als Zweig der österreichischen kommunistischen Partei gelten musste. Heute sind alle slawischen Nationalelemente in Kärnten in dem unparteiischen Rat der Kärntner Slowenen zusammengeschlossen und die Landesregierung hat sogar einen offiziellen Berater für slawische Angelegenheiten, Dr. Paul Apovnik, bestellt. Als politische Körperschaft traten sie als Kärnter Einheitspartei im Frühjahr 1975 in den Wahlkampf ein, erzielten aber bei den Wahlen im April 1975 kaum 6000 Stimmen. Die Hauptanklagen der Slowenen beziehen sich meist auf die Nichteinhaltung oder Nichtdurchführung der im Artikel 7, Absatz 3 des Staatsvertrags von 1955 zugesicherten Schutzmassnahmen slowenischer und kroatischer Minderheiten. Wieder sind es hauptsächlich zwei Gebiete, die am heftigsten umstritten werden: Die Errichtung von rein slowenischen oder gemischtsprachigen Schulen, wo nötig, und der Gebrauch der slowenischen Sprache in Ämtern und Gerichten, sowie auf Ortsnamen- und Strassentafeln, wo nötig. Die österreichische Regierung versucht schon seit 1956 der ersten Forderung gerecht zu werden und hat unter anderem Mittel zur Errichtung eines neuen slowenischen Gymnasiums in Klagenfurt zur Verfügung gestellt, da die Schülerzahl des alten von 101 im Jahre 1957 auf 424 im Jahre 1972 gestiegen war. Was die zweite Forderung betrifft, soll ein bald folgender Tatsachenbericht illustrieren. Aber wie immer in solchen Situationen rufen die meisten Aktionen in einer Richtung scharfe Reaktionen in der anderen hervor. So gibt es heute in Kärnten den Kärntner Heimatdienst (KHD), den Abwehrkämpferbund und die Kärntner Landsmannschaft auf der deutschsprechenden Seite. Wie weit es sich hier um paramilitärische Verbände handelt, bleibt zu entscheiden. Was sie alle eint, ist Opposition allen slowenischen Forderungen gegenüber, obgleich sie die Tatsache des Bestandes einer Minderheit durchaus nicht ableugnen, und sie alle ihre Überparteiische Stellung betonen. Dr. Paul Apovnik vertritt die Ansicht, dass die von der österreichischen Regierung stillschweigend hingenommene Existenz dieser Organisationen an sich eine Verletzung des Staatsvertrags darstelle. Der stärkste dieser Verbände ist der KHD mit über 60,000 Mitgliedern aus allen politischen Lagern Österreichs. Sie widersetzen sich allen slowenischen Forderungen und Ansprüchen und versuchen sogar diese durch eine Unterscheidung zwischen Wenden und Slowenen zunichte zu machen. Erstere haben ihrer Meinung nach ihre Österreichtreue seit jeher bewiesen und ihren Ansprüchen sei also nach Tunlichkeit innerhalb eines gesamtösterreichischen Programms entgegenzukommen. Die staatsfeindliche Haltung der extrem nationalen Slowenen verachten sie jedoch. Während eine Volkszählung von 1951 noch 42,000 slowenisch oder windisch Sprechende festellte und in manchen Gemeinden bis zu 20% nicht deutsch sprachen, ergab eine neuere Zählung 1971 nur mehr 21,000, also einen 50% Rückgang, wovon 4/5 slowenisch und 1/5 windisch sprachen.

Wie hoch die Wellen der Spannung manchmal schlagen können, sei kurz durch die sogenannte Ortstafelkrise illustriert. Im Juni 1972 entschied die Bundesregierung für eine sofortige Durchführung des Artikels 7 des Staatsvertrags, der zweisprachige Ortsnamen- und Strassentafeln vorsieht. 205 Südkärntner Gemeinden waren davon betroffen, einschliesslich der beiden grössten Städte Klagenfurt und Villach. Im September 1972 trat das Gesetz in Kraft, aber schon am Tag nach Inkrafttreten des Gesetzes wurden sämtliche deutsch-slowenische Tafeln wieder abgerissen. KHD Mitglieder zogen in Gruppen von Ort zu Ort und entfernten die zweisprachigen Aufschriften. Demonstrationen folgten und am Vorabend des

10. Oktobers, des Jahrestags der historischen Volksabstimmung, versammelten sich grössere Menschenmengen vor dem Regierungsgebäude in Klagenfurt und zerstörten demonstrativ hunderte der Tafeln. Weitere lärmende Kundgebungen fanden in der folgenden Woche und später statt. Der Landeshauptmann von Kärnten, Hans Sima, gleichzeitig Führer der Kärntner SPÖ, wurde als der Hauptschuldige an diesem politischen "blunder" bezeichnet und musste aus dem Amt scheiden. Der Chef der Bundesregierung, Bundeskanzler Dr. Bruno Kreisky, setzte 1973 eine Sonderkommission ein, die 1974 ihren Forschungsbericht erstattete. Im besonderen fand die Kommission, dass der Artikel 7 des Staatsvertags, der sich auf "slawische Minderheiten" in Österreich bezog, genauerer Definition bedürfe: Was sei eigentlich mit "slawisch" gemeint? Und wo könnte man berechtigterweise von gemischtsprachiger Bevölkerung sprechen? Manche Experten behaupten, dass eine 5%ige Minderheit genüge, um entsprechende Massnahmen zu rechtfertigen, andere fordern einen mindestens 30%igen Bevölkerungsanteil, bevor etwas zu ihrer Anerkennung unternommen werden sollte. Vor allem sei es unbedingt notwendig, ein für alle Mal durch geheime Wahl die wahre Anzahl der Minderheiten festzustellen. Dagegen wehren sich aber die Slowenen, offenbar weil sie eine für sie beschämende Kleinzahl ihrer Angehörigen befürchten. Die Bundesregierung hat jedoch trotz der Proteste diese geheime Zählung für 1976 angeordnet und Vorbereitungen dazu sind bereits im Gange. Die Slowenen drohen die Zählung zu boykottieren, falls damit nicht ein bindendes Versprechen der sofortigen Durchführung aller nötigen Massnahmen, die sich daraus ergeben, verbunden ist.

Die Zukunft der Slowenen in Österreich ist also nicht sehr rosig. "Wahrscheinlich wird ihre Anzahl weiter zurückgehen", so Dr. Dien, Public Relations Officer der ÖVP. Dr. Paul Apovnik ist sogar der Meinung, dass am Ende der Artikel 7 des Staatsvertrage möglicherweise überhaupt verschwinden könnte. Das würde bedeuten, dass auch weiter keine Slowenen in führende Stellen vordringen könnten und im schlimmsten Fall meist nur die am schlechtesten bezahlten Arbeiten für sie zu haben sein werden. Eine wirklich dauerhafte und gerechte Lösung scheint also noch in weiter Ferne, vielleicht ist eine solche überhaupt unmöglich.

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EL BIERZO: INEVITABLE DISAPPEARANCE OF A MINI-MINORITY

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The rights and aspirations of minorities are either being hailed and supported, or properly lamented throughout the world; whether they be the racial minorities in Africa and the U.S.A., linguistic minorities in Ceylon and Belgium, religious minority aspirations in Ireland and Lebanon, women's rights everywhere, and now the everpresent minority problems in Spain. Always of great interest to the world have been the ethnic and linguistic minorities of the Iberian Peninsula, where the old name of "Las Españas" would be better employed than the present title of Spain. With the demise of the Caudillo Francisco Hermenegildo Franco y Bahamonde, great agitation has resulted in the granting of certain linguistic rights by the new government of King Juan Carlos I. It is curious to note that Franco himself was from a linguistic minority, and was totally bilingual in Galician as well as Castilian. When Franco met with Salazar of Portugal some years ago, these two leaders conversed in Galician which left the members of the Spanish mission totally perplexed and in the dark as to what actually transpired between the dictatorial duo.

Part of the new "Black Legend" surrounding the Franco regime infers that use of the regionalistic dialect brought immediate reprisals and punishment. Yet the truth of the matter clearly demonstrates that literary works and linguistic studies were published in Catalan, Valencian, and Galician. Even articles in Basque were published in newspaper supplements in the Vascongadas and Navarra. Perhaps the first big breakthrough came from the insistence of the Church that the Mass was to be said in the vernacular with the homily in the same language; thus effectively replacing the old Latin Mass and circumventing Castilian. In 1972 bishops were shuffled around various dioceses so as to put Basque bishops in the Vascongadas, Catalan bishops in Catalonia, and so forth. Dating from that time records have appeared with the sung Mass in Galician, Basque, Catalan as well as in Flamenco and Mozarabic!

Post Civil War restrictions on the use of regionalistic languages in official, public, and educational situations, plus the extreme mobility of the Spaniards from one area to another--especially the Galicians and Andalusians to Catalonia and the Vascongadas--have rendered the regionalistic languages a secondary and diminishing role. Perhaps with the new permissive attitude, the various regions of Spain can be bilingual with Galician, Catalán, Basque, Valencian, Mallorquín, and Bable (of Asturias) managing to survive. Even their survival will be difficult, for the constant pressures of the mass media of newspapers, radio, and especially television will give Castilian linguistic hegemony over the other Iberian languages.

Yet this paper is not concerned with the larger overall view of those Iberian languages which have a chance for survival, but with the slow certain disappearance of a "mini-dialect" and a "mini-culture" from the Bierzo region of the modern province of León. This area is located in the extreme western part of León and is bounded by Asturias to the north, the Galician provinces of Lugo and Orense to the west, and Zamora to the south. Though small, approximately 77 by 88 kilometers or an area of about 2,700 square kilometers, the area has had historical importance since Roman times. El Bierzo is often called the "antesala" or antechamber to Galicia. However, the Bierzo does differ strongly from both Galicia and León.

In medieval times the "camino de Santiago" or "Ruta Jacobea" traversed this area. The pilgrims coming from Roncesvalles on their way to the shrine of the Apostol Santiago de Compostela would spend nights in the many hostels, convents, and monasteries set up for this expressed purpose. So important was this route, that the French Benedictine order of Cluny founded the present city of Villafranca del Bierzo around the year 1070 to cater to the needs of the pilgrims. The word *Crúñiga* is still used in the area refering back to the Cluniac monks. Serving the needs of the modern travelers is a government sponsored national "parador" or inn near the medieval castle of the Counts of Peñarramiro in Villafranca.

Crucial battles shaping the history of northern Spain have taken place here in the Bierzo region. Not only was the region rich in gold and metals, grains and other foodstuffs, but it was also the crossroads to Galicia. Here the Astures lost to the legions of Rome, the Suevians gave way to the Visigoths, the latter lost to the Moors, who soon gave way to the Christians, and even to special invasions by the famous medieval cleric, Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago. The last significant foreign invasion and series of battles were those fought between French General Colbert and the English General Crawford at Cacabelos in 1809. Local peasant folklore still refers to the barbarous French occupation as *La Francesada*!

The present name of El Bierzo comes from the supposed Roman city of Bérgidum, later called Bérgido by the Suevian King Sisebute in 612. In Roman times this area formed part of their province of Gallecia. Great evidence remains of Roman activity in the area and more is constantly being discovered. The Bierzo was separated from Galicia by a royal decree of King Fernando I in 1065 and has since formed a part of León. The Berciano dialect is defined as that language spoken in El Bierzo and Cabrera territories of León; it possesses its own native vocabulary with many words of Iberian origin. Berciano shows a much greater affinity to the Galician language rather than to Leonese and Bable. Some examples of pronunciation demonstrating this relationship are in the diphthongs *ei* of *leite* instead of *leche*, *ou* for *o* as in pronouncing *Toural* for *Toral*, and *louco* for *loco*. Final *o* often goes the way of the Galician pronunciation to *u*, although spelling remains the same. The Galician *elle* is retained instead of *jota* as in *muller* and *fillo* for *mujer* and *hijo*. The articles and possessive pronouns retain their archaic forms: *o*, *a*, *os*, *as* for *el*, *la*, *los*, *las*; and *meu*, *miña*, *teu*, *tua*, *seu*, *sua*, *noso*, *nosa*, *voso*, *vosa* for *mí*, *tu*, *su*, *nuestro*, *nuestra*, *vuestro*, *vuestra*. *I won't go* becomes *Eu non vou*, instead of *Yo no voy*. The strong nasals are absent as in *non* and *mao* and *can*.

Berciano is presently a rustic language according to Ramón Menéndez Pidal. This dialect survives mainly in the peasant villages and in the surrounding hills. Modern village schools, along with radio, movies, and television, are rapidly contributing to the demise of the dialect. While the older people strongly resist any changes in their spoken tongue, the younger girls, seeking to be fashionable and avoid being called *paletas* (country hicks), are the first to join the Castilian linguistic bandwagon. These girls often are the first to make fun of those who choose to retain their Berciano dialect, and yet are almost totally oblivious of their own strong Berciano accent which often causes the haughty Madrileños to call them "Gallegas" (Galicians)! On the other hand the males, both young and old, seem almost obstinate in their retention of their highly expressive Berciano dialect. In fact one encounters almost a reverse snobbery, for the young man who attempts to Castilianize his speech patterns is ridiculed as either a snob or a potential homosexual.

While the linguistic elegance status is for those of Castilian speech, preferably the accent of either Burgos or Valladolid, a somewhat curious phenomenon appears in the form of overcorrection. The Castilian diphthong *ue* is generally lacking in Berciano, being regularly replaced by *o*, so in an attempt to be ultra correct such mistakes as *muente* for *monte* is heard, thus paralleling *puente* and *fuente* rather than Berciano *ponte* and *fonte*. While many examples may be cited, one of the most amusing might be *aceche* for *aceite* because of the parallel pronunciation of Castilian *leche* for Berciano *leite*!

No doubt the one great period of self-esteem, respect, and recognition for El Bierzo came in 1822 when the region was elevated to the status of *Provincia de España* for a few years before being merged once again with León. The venerable city of Villafranca del Bierzo was selected as the capital of the new province. The rival city of Ponferrada has always vied with Villafranca for leadership in the area. The former now boasts of a population of over 70,000 while the latter now has some 15,000. While both have artistic monuments, the old capital far outshines the industrial and commercial center in shrines and historical buildings. Villafranca boasts the church of Santiago where the medieval pilgrim, if too ill to continue on to the original goal of Santiago de Compostela, could get all the religious indulgences and benefits by doing penance, spiritual exercises, Mass, and communion here. Ponferrada boasts of its fantastic growth and development, but Villafranca has produced the outstanding authors and still retains the title as the intellectual center of El Bierzo.

Fray Martín Sarmiento (1695-1771), the Benedictine from Villafranca, gained fame for his erudite studies and strong defense of fellow Benedictine Padre Feijóo. Bercianos are quick to point out his learned *Memorias para la historia de la poesía y poetas españoles*. Even more tantalizing to the research scholar, much of Sarmiento's work is still intact and unedited. Without a doubt the universal favorite of all Bercianos and the most widely read book in the area, is Villafranca's favorite son Enrique Gil y Carrasco's *El Señor de Bembibre*. Even the peasants in the area are familiar with the story and can retell the lives of Doña Beatríz, Don Álvaro, and the Conde de Lemos. Most even accept the story as gospel truth only slightly elaborated with literary liberties by author Gil y Carrasco. All the geographical locations--towns mentioned, castles, religious orders, personages--ring with authenticity. No wonder this book is often cited as the best romantic novel of the XIXth-century. More is the pity that Gil y Carrasco died so young in distant, cold Prussia rather than in his beloved Bierzo. Perhaps the only bit of the novel that seems too out of touch with present day tastes is that the heroine Doña Beatríz is married twice but still dies a virgin.

Closer to our generation is the outstanding professor from Villafranca, Dr. Ramón Carnicer, who teaches in Barcelona. He has produced a great number of books ranging from works on grammar and usage to sociological investigation, as in his *Donde las Hurdes se llaman Cabrera*, to criticism of the United States after having been an exchange professor at a New York City university in his *Nueva York--Nivel de vida, nivel de muerte*! Of a number of young aspiring authors from this area, the most promising is Antonio Pereira who won the 1966 Leopoldo Alas Award for his *Una Ventana a la Carretera* (with a prologue by Carnicer).

The city of Villafranca del Bierzo holds a literary concourse each year with a number of prizes awarded for literary creativity in poetry and prose. While the competition is open to all, one prize is always reserved for a Berciano native. This practice seems to be a rather good stimulus to young native authors, and these concourses are becoming more and more popular.

In conclusion we must lament that the prospects for the survival of the Berciano dialect are indeed slim if not non-existant, and will survive only awhile longer before surrendering totally to Castilian. Perhaps several legacies might be salvaged; those being a good strong Berciano accent while speaking Castilian along with a pride of a fine history of what once was. Such is progress!

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A CRITIQUE OF SARTRE'S *ON A RAISON DE SE RÉVOLTER*

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On 10 February 1969 Sartre and Michel Foucault took part in a political gathering at the Mutualité to protest the expulsion of thirty-four students from the University of Paris. When Sartre took his place in the meeting hall he found a note before him containing the admonition "Sartre, sois bref." Almost a full year had elapsed since the unsuccessful uprising of May 1968, yet, as Sartre now admits, only after this lexical provocation in the Mutualité did his political itinerary begin to take one of its sharpest turns since World War II.[1] There followed a series of essays, prefaces, interviews, and highly publicized public actions that serve to underscore the specific nature of this apparent radical break with the past.

To the readers of *L'Express* or *Paris Match* this break with the past was portrayed rather superficially: the new Sartre was the pathetic figure of the venerable "inventeur de l'existentialisme" who, manipulated by left-wing radicals, had taken to peddling illegally *La cause du peuple* in the streets of Paris or who, bullhorn in hand, could be seen haranguing a few workers at the Renault factory. Sartre had foresaken his philosophy of freedom to become "un apôtre de la violence, de la terreur, de la dictature baptisée révolutionnaire ou prolétarienne, même sous le nouveau déguisement gauchiste et spontanéiste du groupe en fusion." He had become blind to the Machiavellian realities of national and world politics: "Que représentent les milliers de pages de Sartre, ce travail de Sisyphe métaphysicien, devant la politique d'un Brejnev qui cherche à obtenir le maximum d'usines américaines . . . en échange de son gaz naturel . . . ?"[2] In sharp contrast to these distorted reportings, *Le Nouvel Observateur* did inform its readers of some of the major texts that provide the philosophical underpinnings of Sartre's new political itinerary.

Among the texts that are considered essential to understanding Sartre's break with the past (it has little to do with forsaking the philosophy of freedom) is his preface to Antonin Liehm's *Trois générations: Entretiens sur le phénomène culturel tchécoslovaque*, published in 1970. This scathing attack on the Soviet Union is now regarded as one of the first important documents marking this shift in Sartre's political thought. Other pieces that have appeared since then largely tend to reinforce this new orientation: his prefaces to *Le Procès de Burgos* (1970) and *Les Maos en France* (1972); the roundtable discussion with two New Left radicals entitled *On a raison de se révolter* (1974), whose significance is the object of this present study; and last summer's interviews in *Le Nouvel Observateur* and *Oui* magazine.[3] Sartre, now nearly blind and unable to read or write (which is why he has had to resort to the interview or roundtable discussion as a form of communication), has been creating a political testament of sorts in which the philosophical centerpiece is the re-discovery of human freedom, not its abandonment as others have suggested. *On a raison de se révolter* is a significant part of this political testament, the major theme of which is laid bare earlier in *Le socialisme qui venait du froid*, the title of Sartre's devastating criticism of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In his analysis of the hideous effects of the kind of prefabricated socialism the Soviet Union imposed on Czechoslovakia, which is the subject of Liehm's compendium of essays, Sartre calls upon the European New Left (he is not referring to either Mitterand or Marchais) to regard fossilized Soviet socialism as a major threat to the building of true socialist societies based on a philosophy of human freedom. The threat is as grave as that posed by the existence of any capitalist country. The rape of Czechoslovakian socialism by the very country that had given birth to it convinced Sartre that the New Left would have to rethink its objectives, its possibilities and, more important, its different types of organizational structures, to view answering what Sartre sees as the fundamental question of our time: "comment s'unir, liquider les vieilles structures ossifiées, dans quel sens produire les nouvelles pour éviter à la révolution prochaine d'accoucher de *ce socialisme-là*."[4] *On a raison de se révolter*, which appeared four years later, is one of several serious attempts to answer that question.

The roundtable discussion consists of a series of tape-recorded conversations between Sartre, Phillipe Gavi, a 33-year-old journalist for *Libération*, and Pierre Victor, a 28-year-old leader of the French Maoist movement. The discussions, covering the period between fall 1972 and early spring 1974, deal mainly with developing new concepts of socialism and revolution, and are occasionally punctuated by analyses of major political events that occurred during the course of their dialogue: the violent overthrow of the Allende regime in Chile, the takeover by the workers of the LIP factory in southern France, to mention only a few.

From Sartre's point of view these discussions awakened possibilities that lay dormant for many years: ". . . je revois la possibilité de concevoir une lutte politique axée sur la liberté . . . pour moi le dialogue a été le dégagement . . . de l'idée de liberté . . . liberté dans l'organisation."[5] In fact, had the connection between freedom and the revolutionary project of the group been made more explicit during the early stages of the dialogue Sartre probably would have insisted on changing the title of the work to "Entretiens sur la liberté." Be that as it may, if, as Sartre claims, we are confronted with a book about freedom linked to revolutionary activity, what does he mean when he uses the term "freedom" today, and why should he spend his time discussing its political implications with two young radicals of Maoist tendencies?

The second question the book raises is somewhat easier to answer than the first: "C'est votre conception de la démocratie directe qui me paraît le lien essentiel entre vous et moi," says Sartre, and moreover, ". . . vous avez la tendance à vous donner . . . des institutions instables . . . la possibilité d'être dissoutes quand la situation change . . ." (pp. 75-77). He goes on to say that their struggle against all forms of social hierarchy, elitism, and institutionalization attracts him to their movement; a movement which has steadfastly rejected the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat as sole agent of the revolution. (Both the French and Italian Communist parties have attempted to coopt this issue by striking this Leninist clause from their party platforms.) And, if Sartre is drawn to these political ideals, it is because they are based on a philosophy of freedom, not on a Machiavellian concept of power politics or on a mindless form of dialectical materialism. The exercise and preservation of freedom in the group is embodied in the very concrete political projects undertaken by the Maoist movement.

The nature of Sartrean freedom today bears little resemblance to the way the philosopher illustrated the term in the early years before developing a comprehensive social theory. He is simply not talking about freedom the way he did in *Les Mouches* with its emphasis on the individual metaphysical crisis, existential anguish, dread, and so on. One of the compelling questions a reading of the play seems to raise is why does Oreste leave the city? In a very general way, it could be said that Sartre has devoted the latter part of his life attempting to deal with the problem of an Oreste who stays on in the city after the act, who has shed his "conscience malheureuse," and who must solve the ticklish problem of being with the group.

The world in which we live is not really one of praxis or free action; rather, it is a world dominated by the pratico-inerte and seriality, two concepts the meaning of which is essential to understanding Sartre's view of freedom today, and as it is used in *On a raison de se révolter*. One of the fundamental notions that emerges from his mammoth social treatise, *Critique de la raison dialectique*, is that the machine fashions man just as man fashions the machine. To quote directly from the work, "La machine façonne son homme dans la mesure exacte où l'homme façonne une machine. . . ."[6] Just as we manipulate the world of things so do things manipulate us in the world in which we act, oftentimes with a kind of devastating irony. In the *Critique* Sartre talks about the Chinese peasants who, in cutting down all the trees in order to clear the land for cultivation, unintentionally exposed themselves to the danger of recurrent flooding. In highly industrialized advanced societies the examples are endless. Western man must often ask himself why it sometimes takes two hours to travel a relatively short distance on a superhighway that was designed to get him there in twenty minutes! What is much more relevant, however, is that in Sartre's view the demanding and perplexing world of the pratico-inerte also includes political, social, and economic systems that have become almost as immutable as things, the mere fossilized remains of the human project that once animated them. This is basic to understanding Sartre's break with the French Communist party with which he had a bittersweet relationship for so many years. Parenthetically, his narration of this relationship in *On a raison de se révolter* will undoubtedly prove invaluable to future biographers. At any rate, Sartre's analysis of the historical development of the Party against the backdrop of the pratico-inerte provides a case study of his social theory and its implications for human freedom.

The specific nature of the various social structures man has given himself over the years have been conditioned and shaped by the imperative of survival in the face of the scarcity of goods essential to satisfying basic human needs. As one observer puts it, "les métamorphoses de la praxis, séries et groupes, qui en se conjugant, en se détruisant, tissent la complexité de la structure sociale . . . constituent la trame abstraite des hommes de la rareté."[7] And, the greatest threat to overcoming scarcity is what Sartre calls seriality.

What once may have been a vital, dynamic collectivity of committed individuals, each of whom saw himself as an individual in the group sharing the same goals, complementing rather than negating the free praxis or action of the other, fell into the alienating world of seriality. The relationship of positive reciprocity which characterizes what Sartre calls the group-in-fusion underwent a structural metamorphosis over time to become a highly institutionalized or bureaucratized group, a thing. The internalized bond of positive reciprocity which, let us say, may have reached its most intense stage during a wildcat strike or, in a more general way, during the days of the *Front populaire*, slowly dissolved to reveal a collectivity of individuals who still bore the party label but who, now stripped of their subjectivity, coexist as separate individuals. They have become a plurality of solitude not unlike a queue of persons awaiting the arrival of a bus or train. In a somewhat simplified fashion, such has been the fate of the Communist party in France and of most other forms of social structure as well.

Sartre identifies one crucial moment in this seemingly continuous metamorphosis of social structures as the key to solving the problem of human alienation resulting from scarcity. This moment, alluded to earlier, is the group-in-fusion, many illustrations of which can be found in the roundtable discussion. The Algerians working at an assembly line at Renault one day decide to act upon the self-evident truth that none of them is getting equal pay for equal work. Each worker takes it upon himself to fuse his own interests with that of the other, forming a revolutionary group-in-fusion in order to destroy the double standard which defines them as something less than full-fledged human beings. At this stage Sartre talks about freedom manifesting itself in the group: "C'est ce moment de dépassement des faits, et des fausses valeurs vers les vraies, qui est le moment de la liberté" (p. 139). These are moments of universalized truths forged in the heat of the struggle; they are authentic, value-creating acts that strike out at institutionalized racist policies; they posit a world built upon mutual recognition of freedom and positive reciprocal relations with others. According to Sartre such values can only be generated by the group because ". . . la vraie pensée est la pensée du groupe, et pas la pensée de la série. On atomise par les institutions . . . c'est donc un état qui n'est pas le vrai" (p. 169).

Where does or should all of this lead? Toward ". . . une société où les pouvoirs seront exercés par tous également, où il n'y aura plus les représentants des pouvoirs, mais où il y aura des hommes libres et qui décident des choses dont chacun pourrait être considéré comme l'auteur" (p. 350). At that moment Sartre believes, perhaps too optimistically, a truly democratic socialist society will come into being, one that is based on a view of man as a free individual. So far Sartre has only been able to identify one moment in the constant flux of social structures that comes closest to embodying the principles of direct democracy: the group-in-fusion.

Sartre's rejection of authoritarian Soviet socialism--the sort that leads to Gulags--and his concurrent advocacy of New Left political causes is therefore linked to his desire to lay the foundations of an authentic socialism based on a philosophy of freedom. Sartre, Victor, and Gavi seem to agree that the anthropological cornerstone of such a political philosophy is the group-in-fusion which is constantly threatened by the world of the pratico-inerte and seriality, freedom's most formidable enemies in the fight against scarcity which conditions but does not determine the formation of social structures that surround us.

The greatest source of criticism lies in the apparent inability of the three men to go much beyond the concept of the group-in-fusion in their deliberations. Will human organizations always fall victim to the forces of inertia and sclerosis and thereby remain a perpetual threat to human freedom? Are we simply not witnessing an inevitable circularity in the structuring and re-structuring of the collectivity? Is it not possible that Sartre is being somewhat optimistic in suggesting that the revolutionary group-in-fusion can indeed lead to a society in which relationships with others will be reasonably harmonious (a relationship of positive reciprocity), or at least less hypocritical than they are now? Is he not promoting a kind of anarchy of the small collectivity, say the struggle of the Bretons or the Basques, from which vantagepoint it is impossible to envisage a larger social fusion, a "rassemblement" which would indeed be anti-authoritarian, anti-elitist, and anti-hierarchical? *On a raison de se révolter* broaches some of these problems but provides no adequate answers.

As he has done in most of his other writings Sartre has intimidated us, he has engaged in terrorizing the reader by stripping him of his comfortable illusions. And though he may not have all the answers to solving the problem of the individual as an "individual-in-the-group," he clearly has not abandoned the concept of freedom.

Sartre makes an interesting observation regarding the role the philosopher of the new socialist society should play in relation to other members of the group: ". . . le philosophe qui exprimerait en mots ce qu'est cette liberté leur permettrait de prendre conscience plus profondément de leur situation. . . . Ce sera au philosophe de la société mao de définir la morale à partir de la liberté" (p. 101). Even though Sartre may be wrong to think that the problem of situated alienation can be solved, it would be difficult to deny that he has lived up to the very definition of the philosopher of the future socialist society. And, if *On a raison de se révolter* has any relevance at all it is this: the work challenges us to "prendre conscience" of our situation as individuals in the group; it asks us to conceive of future societies in which relations with others will be based on mutual recognition of freedom. If we refer to Sartre as the Voltaire of the twentieth century, we do so not because de Gaulle is said to have coined that epithet during the war in Algeria; Sartre's life-long defense of the primacy of human freedom is reason enough.

Notes

[1] Michel Contat & Michel Rybalka, "Chronologie," *Magazine littéraire*, No. 103/04 (September 1975), p. 45.

[2] Georges Dassonville, "Le Duel des grosses têtes," rev. of *Histoire et dialectique de la violence*, by Raymond Aron, *Paris Match*, 30 June 1973, pp. 3-4.

[3] Sartre's self-portrait as told to Michel Contat appeared in *Le Nouvel Observateur* (23, 30 June & 7 July 1975). The *Oui* magazine interview by John Gerassi appeared in the June 1975 issue. All the other works referred to were published by Gallimard.

[4] Jean-Paul Sartre, *Situations IX*, p. 276.

[5] *On a raison de se révolter*, pp. 17-18.

[6] Jean-Paul Sartre, *Critique de la raison dialectique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), p. 269.

[7] Jean-Claude Girardin, "Sartre et le marxisme," *Magazine littéraire*, No. 55/56 (n.d.), p. 23.

ON THE PREPARATION OF CONCORDANCE DATA

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Introduction

Without proper tools progress in any area is usually slow. For instance, the building of complex structures, such as bridges, skyscrapers or computers, without the use of mathematics would be difficult to imagine. Unthinkable, too, would be man's bold launching into the abyss of space without reliance on advanced tools such as the computer. The complex tools of today, be they physical or conceptual, represent the crystallized sediment of accumulated knowledge spanning man's existence on earth. An organized body of knowledge breeds on itself by fostering further organization of subsequent data and by making spectacular achievements possible. Scientists are fairly confident that the ability of the human brain has not changed in measurable ways in recent historical memory. Yet, it can hardly be denied that modern man can do much more than his forebears. If the difference is not intellectual, it must lie in the availability and use of accumulated knowledge.

The computer, a major technological development of our generation, offers the greatest potential for making the important difference between mere literary appreciation and true literary scholarship. For, try as we might, it is difficult to determine what difference, if any, exists between the literary scholar of today and that of the past. The computer's great promise lies in its ability to process complex and voluminous data. For the literary scholar, this machine means freedom from some drudgery and the possibility of formulating, correlating, and testing bold hypotheses.

Some Preliminaries

Perhaps the first step for the prospective concordance maker, once the selection of author and work(s) has been made, is to choose an edition. Although concordances may be based on more than one edition, it goes without saying that the definitive edition should be chosen. The body of a definitive edition should be free of controversial variants, be they of content or spelling; it should be as comprehensive as the best current scholarship permits; and it should be expected to be unsupersedable for some time. The edition on which a concordance is based is called the source text.

Once the question of a definitive edition has been resolved, the method of compilation must be decided. Fortunately, nowadays this presents no problem. Whether to computerize a concordance or not hardly needs elaboration, but it should, at least, be pointed out that scholars as recently as a quarter of a century ago did not have this choice. Before them lay an extremely laborious task, often the work of a professional lifetime. Surely, certain aspects of modern concordance-making are taxing, but they are as nothing when compared to what they used to be. The would-be concordance editor need not have a programming background to be able to compile a concordance. Several "canned" concordance programs are already available. These programs generate the now familiar traditional computerized concordance.

Advanced concordance types featuring lemmatization require a great deal more editorial involvement and additional programming.[1] Traditional computerized concordances, despite their lack of lemmatization, are extremely useful and useable tools. The contemporary scholar faced with nontrivial literary concepts would be hard put to get along without them. Great leaps in original literary scholarship are possible when a concordance is at hand. Its literary, linguistic, stylistic, or statistical uses are numerous.[2]

Data Preparation

Before the computer can process any text data, their conversion to a computer processable form by some mechanical means is, of course, necessary. A commonly used method for this purpose is keypunching. Although time-consuming, keypunching is probably the best way to begin a first concording project. Optical scanning, a far more efficient method, cannot always be applied as it frequently requires the source text to be typed with special fonts before it can be electronically converted to a computer-processable medium. Continuous improvements in optical scanning equipment promise an ever diminishing margin of scanning error. The development of multi-font and even omnifont capabilities implies an ever widening range of applications.[3]

The method of data preparation ultimately selected must be a function both of the language of the source text, more specifically, of the alphabet of the source text, and of the hardware available at the local computer installation. The possibility of contracting the task of data conversion at some other center always exists. It is not unheard of for jobs of large volume to be turned over even to foreign countries, such as Hong Kong, Korea, or Japan. For the editor of a small concordance with limited or no funds, however, local help and a willingness to be patiently involved can accomplish the task of data preparation.

An important aspect of concordance data preparation deals with knowing ahead of time what format will be acceptable by the concording program. If the concordance editor does his own programming, he must make certain all necessary adjustments are made before the input format becomes crystallized. To avoid the loss of time and effort, a pilot run is, therefore, recommended.

Although several steps are involved in concordance data preparation, only two methods need be distinguished: direct and indirect. Indirect methods imply that keystroking, that is, keypunching, or special font typing preparatory to optical scanning, is accomplished from a secondary representation of the source text, such as transliteration. Technically, transliteration means alphabet replacement: characters available at the computer printing facility replace, preferably on a one-to-one basis, characters from the alphabet of the source text.[4] Not all alphabets require alphabet replacement. For example, if the source text is in English, Latin, German, or Italian, transliteration is not needed. With varying degrees of intensity, however, complications arise as one deals with languages such as French, Spanish, Turkish, Greek, Russian, Georgian, or Arabic. The overlap between the alphabet of the source text and the printable characters available at a given computer installation varies from partial to complete, from a few characters to all the characters of the source text alphabet.

Unlike the indirect method, the direct method bypasses transliteration as a separate manual step: keystroking, or, under special circumstances, even optical scanning can be accomplished directly from the source text. It is possible to use the direct method when the number of character replacements is small. For the preparation of a French concordance to Les Tapisseries of Charles Péguy, keypunching from the source text was accomplished with the help of a list of alphabetic correspondences.[5] It is not as easy to achieve direct keypunching from a language such as Russian, however. Because the list of alphabetic correspondences is rather large, special training is required. For Russian data preparation, our experience indicates that transliteration prior to keystroking is to be preferred, i.e., the indirect method applies.

It is often necessary to rely on whatever keystroking facilities may be available at the local computing center. Obviously, as the extent of alphabet replacement rises, the complexity of special instructions given to the encoders and the likelihood for error also rise. Errors do diminish, however, as experience is gained. Other potential sources of error might include personnel conscientiousness and, occasionally, condition of available hardware. In my experience personnel associated exclusively with and especially trained for the concording project ensure maximum freedom from error, since an esprit de corps develops which helps the project move along smoothly and which can be conveniently tapped in emergency situations.

Whether the direct or indirect method of data preparation is chosen, the goal remains the same: as error-free a corpus as possible. To minimize errors, manual and mechanical means are used. For keypunched data, correcting errors via verification amounts to a second keypunching and by a different person. The special machine used for this purpose compares the two keypunchings and signals whenever an error is encountered. Corrections are subsequently made and the process continues to the end of the source text. However, no matter how well-trained the personnel, manual proofreading is in order. A considerable number of errors will commonly remain even after verification. One could spend an inordinate amount of time and effort proofreading and double proofreading and still have the satisfaction of discovering yet another error. Alternatively, one mav resign oneself to the fact that no matter how many times and how carefully the text is proofread, some errors will remain. Analogous to the rationale for verification, if a second proofreading were attempted, a different person should do it.

When optical scanning is used for data conversion, the easiest case obtains when the source text is already available in scannable form--the direct method is employed, as neither transliteration nor keystroking with special fonts is involved. When transliteration and/or separate encoding precedes optical scanning, proofreading should be done before scanning. This process is especially desirable if computer proofreading, by means of a second scan and subsequent comparison of both scans, is planned. Unless scanning is error-proof, proofing via double scanning should be recommended whether the direct or indirect method of data preparation is used.[6]

Besides double scanning, there are other ways to harness the computer for proofreading. After compilation of the traditional computerized concordance with frequencies for all occurring forms, checking of entries of frequency one or two should flush out most remaining errors, especially mispunches and mistransliterations. To save time, a listing of such entries can be especially printed out and checked as before. Finally, another, more sophisticated method relegates a portion of proofreading to the computer: character combinations from the computer processable text can be checked to determine any violations of the combinatorial characteristics of the given language. Besides having extremely low frequency, freak errors look unnatural within the confines of a given language. For example, initial 'ng' would be a good instance of a suspicious combination if the source language were English and the corpus were not expected to contain foreign terms with such clusters.

Figure 1 provides a flowchart summary of the steps in the preparation of concordance data.

Coding of Context Reference

An entry of a traditional computerized concordance, besides word forms and their context, contains information necessary for optional accessing of more context from the source text. Context references (CRs) include, i.a. volume, page, line, poem, chapter. Not all concordances show or need show all these types. Because handling of CRs can be time-consuming, some thought should be given to processing efficiency.

CR coding can be in fixed or free form. Each context unit in fixed form is followed by its associated CRs. In free form, the text is encoded as is: for encoding of poetry, each line follows another with no intervening CRs. The traditional use of a slash as a line delimiter is retained. The first item to be coded for a given page of text is the page number following "P#" with no intervening blank. The task of assigning complete CR information to each line is relegated to the computer with the help of a look-up table which includes poem titles, the page on which they occur and the line extent on the given page. In concording prose, the text is similarly encoded including the page number, once per page of text. No slashes are used, but could be introduced to signal context unit boundaries. As is the case for poetry, the computer relies on a look-up table (containing volume, chapter, or other information) to assign CRs to each context unit.[7]

Depending on whether the direct or indirect method of data preparation is used, several possibilities exist once the choice between fixed- vs. free-form coding is made.

In fixed-form coding, the direct method offers three alternatives: CRs for poetry can be typed with appropriate fonts right on the source text and adjacent to each associated line before optical scanning is accomplished directly. Or, if direct scanning is not possible, CRs can be penciled on the margin of the source text prior to keystroking, or encoded during keystroking. For space considerations primarily, CRs such as poem titles can be temporarily replaced by corresponding numbers. If the indirect method is used for fixed-form coding, two alternatives exist: mark CRs on the margin of the source text before transliteration, or incorporate them during transliteration, and follow with keystroking.

In free-form coding, the situation is conceptually less complicated. The direct method offers the simplest alternatives: either the source text is scanned with the program subsequently noting delimiters for page (and line, for poetry coding), or, if direct scanning is not possible, keystroking is carried out with simultaneous incorporation of page and/or line delimiters. If the indirect method is used for free-form coding, page and/or line delimiters are introduced during transliteration. Keystroking ensues.

Whether the free- or fixed-form coding is used, the final format is identical. Obviously, for a given concording project, the choice between the coding techniques and their ramifications largely depends on the kinds of hardware and software available to the concordance editor.

Notes

[1] Perhaps it will be helpful to elaborate on the differences between traditional computerized concordances and lemmatized concordances (for details, see my "From a Word-form Concordance to a Dictionary-form Concordance," Computers in the Humanities, ed. L. Mitchell (Edinburgh: Univ. of Edinburg Press, 1974), pp. 225-33. Briefly, a traditional computerized concordance treats language at the level of the computer. The computer, as we all know, has certain limitations. One pertinent limitation is its inability to tell apart word forms that look identical, e.g. homonyms and homographs. (Humans perform this task all the time, very often without even being aware; the context helps differentiate such fused forms. The computer, too, could be programmed to accomplish much of this work through rather complicated syntactic analysis.) A related limitation, inherent in traditional computerized concordances, is their complete disregard of word group boundaries so that forms of one group are mixed with those of another, very often listed pages apart, e.g. "sing" vs. "sang" vs. "sung"; "go" vs. "went"; "am" vs. "is" vs. "were"; etc. This happens, obviously, because alphabetization by computer follows strict physical properties: the magnetic configuration for "am" is arithmetically far less than that for "was." And keeping them alphabetically apart are many word forms which go between them.

[2] For a detailed discussion on the uses of concordances, see Lane Cooper, "The Making and Use of a Verbal Concordance," Sewanee Review, 27 (1919), pp. 188-206 and Demetrius J. Koubourlis, "On Concordances and their Uses," Slavic and East European Journal, 19 (1975), pp. 246-53.

[3] For information on optical scanning hardware, see R. S. Morgan, "Optical Readers," Computers and the Humanities, 3 (1968), pp. 61-64; and "Optical Readers: 1970," Computers and the Humanities, 5 (1970), pp. 75-99. For a comparison of optical scanning to other methods, see Ben R. Schneider, "The Production of Machine-Readable Text: Some of the Variables," Computers and the Humanities, 6 (1971), pp. 39-47.

[4] Softwarewise, there are 256, or 2^8, different character configurations available to the programmer. Not all of them are printable. Printable characters usually dictate transliteration correspondences. These correspondences are often designed to take advantage of mnemonic aspects between the two alphabets, e.g. a "ç" may represent the Czech "č," a "61," the Russian letter "ы" (ery). Note that one-to-one correspondences are preferred because they are necessary for smooth reversal back to the original alphabet for computer printing after all other processing has taken place.

[5] Some examples: mêmes, aïeules, Israël, façade become me¬mes, ai%eules, Israe%l, fa@ade.

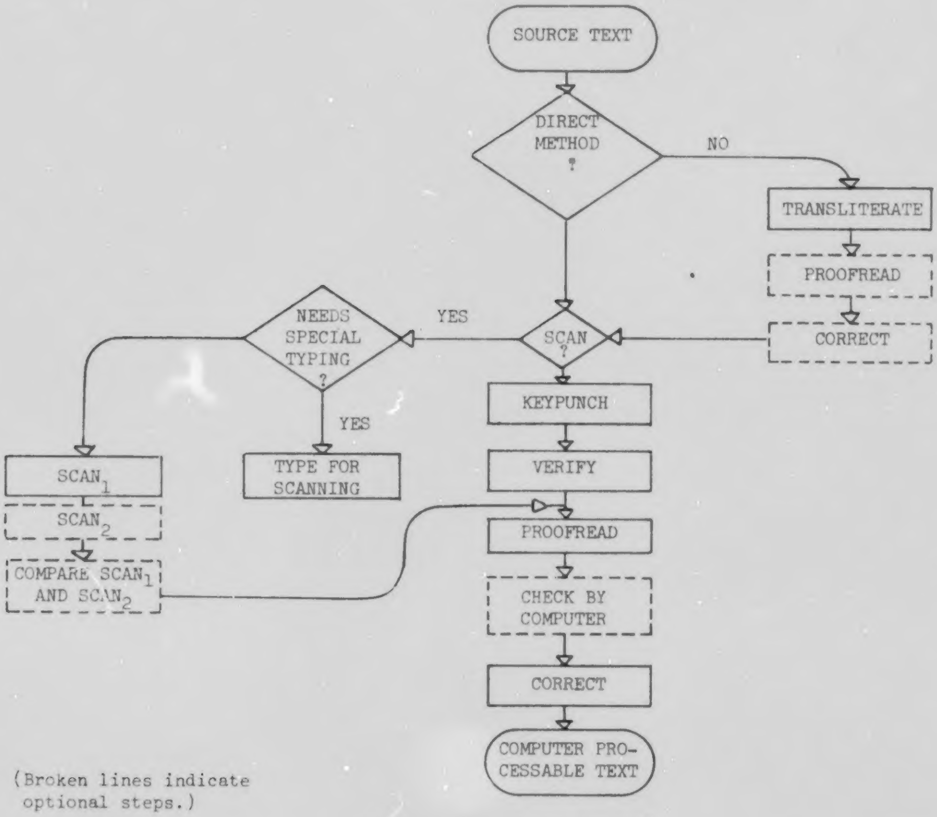
[6] One should make every effort to remove from the data as many errors as possible before concordance processing begins. Because of the nature of concordances, errors not discovered at this stage have an

unfortunate tendency to multiply. For one Russian poetry concordance (Koubourlis 1974), the average error regeneration factor reached 4.6! This figure, obviously, is a function of the language concorded and the length of the context unit. A design for concordance proofreading should take this fact into account. It is to be cheerfully noted that some corrections can still be made on the final camera-ready copy by whiting out, pasting, or cutting-and-pasting.

[7] The relative advantages of the coding techniques will not be discussed here. Methods used elsewhere may be similar to the fixed form, but, to the best of my knowledge, the free-form technique is presented here for the first time. In another study, I hope to be able to describe this technique in detail.

Figure 1.

Creation of Computer Processable Concordance Data


SOURCE TEXT
DIRECT METHOD ?
NO
TRANSLITERATE
PROOFREAD
CORRECT
NEEDS SPECIAL TYPING ?
YES
SCAN ?
YES
KEYPUNCH
VERIFY
SCAN$_1$
SCAN$_2$
TYPE FOR SCANNING
COMPARE SCAN$_1$ AND SCAN$_2$
PROOFREAD
CHECK BY COMPUTER
CORRECT
COMPUTER PROCESSABLE TEXT

(Broken lines indicate optional steps.)

FOREIGN LANGUAGE TRAINING PRIOR TO STUDY ABROAD: A NEW PERSPECTIVE

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Introduction

In a recent edition of The New Yorker, Professor Charles Moskos, Jr., is quoted as follows: "For whatever reason, our young soldiers seem to be petrified by foreign culture. They stay in their barracks, turn on their stereos and strobe lights, and smoke dope, in contrast to the troops in the United States. Here, if you smoke, you do it off post."[1] While certainly this observation is arresting, it does pertain to a very special population--one which is assuredly not that of American undergraduates studying abroad on accredited programs. And yet, does not the notion of being petrified by a foreign culture and of escaping to comfortable diversions often apply, less dramatically, to our own students studying abroad?

The purview of this paper is to explore the relationships between prior training in the foreign language of the country where the student will sojourn and changes in the student's opinions, attitudes, and perceptions. Assumptions are questioned. For example, is a requirement of two years' study of the foreign language on the home campus valid? Does "direct immersion" occur? Do experiential opportunities available only foster personal growth, tolerance, cultural awareness, broad-mindedness, and a general understanding of international relations?

The Study

Even though many other barriers also exist which frustrate cross-cultural communications, language erects the primary barrier between peoples of different cultures. Focusing specifically on language, this paper reports on data gathered on 334 American undergraduates who studied abroad during the 1974-1975 academic year. Appropriate forms of a questionnaire, "The Individual Opinion Inventory"--abbreviated to the IOI--were administered to these students before and then after their sojourn experiences.[2] The responses of these matched pairs of students are illuminating and may influence the nature of requirements for participation in study programs abroad. The data provide a perspective which actually goes beyond the domain of language training and enters that of study abroad itself--definition and purpose.[3]

The data reported here are limited to analyses of student samples participating in foreign study programs where English is not commonly spoken. From the students queried the following three groups were formed, based on the student's perception of his or her own capacity in the foreign language at the beginning of the sojourn: the Competent Group (i.e., those who felt capable of speaking the foreign language with native speakers upon arrival); the Non-Competent Group (i.e., those who felt inadequate in speaking the foreign language or felt unable to speak it at all with native speakers upon arrival, but who expected to learn and the use the language during their sojourn); and the No Language Group (i.e., those who had never studied the foreign language and expected to confine all communication to English). Analyses were conducted using differences of pre- and post-scores for each group separately.[4]

The Results

Certain variables on the IOI located significant differences within each of the three student groups between pre- and post-testing. All three groups were, after completing their foreign sojourn experience: 1) more likely to correspond with individuals from the sojourn area; 2) more likely to read about the sojourn area; and 3) were better able to characterize the people of the sojourn area. Similarly, all three groups returned to this country: 1) less likely to have tried consciously to analyze and to accept others different from themselves than they had expected; 2) less likely to have studied as hard as they assumed they would have on their home campus; and 3) less likely to have conducted much of their daily conversation in the language of the sojourn area. In addition, neither the Competent Group students nor the Non-Competent Group students reported mastering to the level anticipated the colloquialisms of the sojourn area language.

For the Non-Competent Group students and the No Language Group students, eleven statistically significant differences were found in addition to those reported above. Both groups concluded their study abroad programs: indicating they had studied the history and traditions of the local area on their own more than they had expected; and, feeling they were more able to distinguish differences between the values of the sojourn area and those of their home area than before.

In addition, at the end of their sojourn, these students reported upon returning home: 1) less interest in the sojourn area; 2) less interest in living permanently in the sojourn area; 3) less desire to join associations which promote solutions to political and/or social problems; 4) fewer opportunities to date members of the opposite sex from the sojourn area than expected; 5) fewer opportunities to relate intensively with at least one member of the host culture than expected; 6) fewer opportunities to study in-depth problems of the sojourn area than expected; 7) fewer opportunities to speak solely in the foreign language of the sojourn area than expected;[5] 8) less likely to analyze consciously and to accept others different from themselves; and 9) less likely to believe that their off-campus experiences had provided opportunities directly related to their intended careers.

Unique to the Non-Competent Group students alone, only five statistically significant changes were reported, three of which pertain to foreign language assimilation. First, the students reported that their pronunciation of the language of the sojourn area had become closer to that of the local people; second, that the students found themselves thinking more in the foreign language than before beginning their sojourn. Third, returning students also reported less understanding of the social values of the host culture, less likelihood of "passing as a native," and less usage of the foreign language than they had expected before departure.

Finally, the No Language Group students were also unique in two particular areas. While these students attended concerts and other cultural events more often than anticipated before departure, they also reported returning home less tolerant than they had expected after living with a host family.

Though, on several variables, changes within the three groups were not statistically significant, it is interesting to underline the general patterns of response of these items. First, by grouping all items which pertain to foreign language study, one finds that a majority of students thought that the ability to communicate in a foreign language is necessary to enable one to comprehend the cultural values of that people. All three groups agreed that knowledge of another culture's language facilitates becoming tolerant of that culture. When comparing their own home culture to that of their overseas sojourn area, a majority of the students felt that they had realized a better understanding of their own culture as a result of their overseas experience. Finally, when asked if they were able to understand how language structure relates to the way a culture functions--admittedly, a difficult question--the students were neutral.

Second, the majority of students in all groups rated their sojourn experience as highly favorable. These students do recommend their program to other students, agreeing that the experience was so valuable a part of their undergraduate education that they would include it as an extra semester if necessary (i.e., graduation after 4 1/2 rather than 4 years, typically). As a result of their sojourn experience, students from all groups felt better able to cope with the "real world" beyond college.

Third, students in all three groups reported that their sojourns abroad had forced them to question their values. A majority of all students agreed that this experience had made them more tolerant individuals and more tolerant of others in general. Each group further reported becoming more tolerant of other cultures' attitudes and views as a result of its off-campus experience.

Implications

Four implications about overseas study programs seem to emerge from these data. In non-English speaking cultures, students who deem themselves competent to communicate in the foreign tongue before beginning their sojourn appear highly motivated and well prepared--both intellectually and emotionally--for their stay abroad. These students have the potential via their language facility to participate to a great extent in the host culture and to become involved with individuals of that culture. Of course, not all students fluent in a foreign language wish to do so. Concerning programs and their structure, these competent language students may need organizational support at the beginning of their sojourn, but, little by little, the need for such support diminishes. While true "immersion" or "assimilation" may never occur, even for these students knowledgeable in the host language, they arrive abroad with sufficient knowledge and capabilities, and the experience itself seems primarily to confirm their assumptions through "experiential learning" and exposure to the local people and culture. Concerning affective values, these students seem to change least of those students studied.

Second, those students whose language skills are marginal or totally nonexistent upon arrival are obviously not as well intellectually and emotionally prepared as those in the group described above. It is provocative to note, however, that these students exhibit more personal growth and more change in their attitudes than does the first group of language competent students. Of course, statistically speaking, more change is possible within this group, as the former group is limited by the nature of present measurement methodology. This being the case, it is still true that those students feeling themselves to be not competent in the language changed significantly, not only on the same variables as did their more competent language peers, but also on additional variables as well. If the purposes of an overseas program are not strictly focused on language instruction, then this second group of students is amenable to more intense attitudinal change than students fluent in the foreign language. Surely, these students should not be excluded from overseas study, except from those programs specifically designed for language majors.

Third, the notion of the role of the host family during the overseas sojourn is put into question. For reasons still obscure, the most important person in the host family for the American exchangee in all of this research was the mother. Siblings of the same age as the exchange student do not always seem to foster opportunities for positive growth and change. Our findings seem to indicate that program organizers should concentrate on finding host families with mothers who are somewhat extroverted and involved with their family and community.

Finally, program goals and expectations should become more clear than in the past to potential program participants. Often, student motivations and program criteria differ profoundly. Program criteria may be unrealistic and clash dramatically with students' needs and expectations. Assumptions about competency in the foreign language of the sojourn area before departure are only one set of examples of this variance.

Some serious intensive language programs in this country may achieve as much if not more in the language domain than do study abroad programs, in general. Similarly, some cross-cultural workshops may effect more immediate awareness and positive attitudinal change than will a year's study overseas. Study abroad should thus proceed with realistic objectives. As a part of undergraduate education, study abroad is one component of general, liberal education. As Clark Kerr recently noted in an open-ended debate: "The greatest problem today in schooling is the attention paid to general liberal education. . . . I believe we need to get a new core to our general liberal education. . . . Every college student ought to be required, or at least encouraged, to undertake some broad, learning experience, to look at some problem or sets of problems, in a broad way. . . . There might be several routes. Higher education needs to expose students to some broad problems--how to analyze them, how to face them, how to understand them--instead of breaking the curriculum up so much into little bits."[6] Presenting opportunities unavailable anywhere else, the study abroad programs should assume a new role in the education of the American undergraduate: that of fostering a critical faculty based on testing-out and experiencing other cultures' realities in a unified, not fragmented, situation.

Notes

[1] Professor Charles Moskos, as quoted by Bruce Bliven, Jr., in "A Reporter At Large/All-Volunteer--II," The New Yorker, 1 December 1975, p. 139.

[2] This material has been developed as part of a wider study, "The American Undergraduate, Off-Campus and Overseas: A Study of the Educational Validity of Such Program," U.S. Office of Education, Division of International Education, International Studies Branch, Contract #OEC-0-72-3588.

[3] 1974-75 Annual Report (New York: World Studies Data Bank, Academy for Educational Development, July 1975), p. 81. According to this survey, the total number of student participants in winter or academic year programs during 1973-74 dropped 43% from 1971-1972 figures.

[4] t-test, .05 accepted for significance. Competent Group = 24; Non-Competent = 118; No Language Group = 119.

[5] Of course, the No Language Group had minimal expectations of doing so.

[6] Clark Kerr, as quoted in The Chronicle of Higher Education, 22 December 1975, p. 5.

CAREER-RELATED STUDY ABROAD: AN IDEA COMES OF AGE

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Two years ago I presented an informal paper to this meeting in which I described what I felt to be the optimum realization of the ideal study-abroad program: a seven-week summer in Germany sponsored by a major local university, which combined language instruction with cultural experiences and included some travel to expose the students to a few landmarks in the heritage of German art and architecture. At that time I spoke strongly in justification of the brevity of the program and the openness of the schedule: participants appreciated the balance between structured group activities and a rather generous allowance of free time. This formula assures that the students are guided into certain activities, while they also have enough time to explore their own interests and make their own discoveries. The sponsors of that program are justified in being proud: its students over several years have enhanced their knowledge of the German language and culture, and many of them have become very respected teachers of German, even in the disastrous job market of the 1970's. The best advertising each year has always been the testimony of the earlier participants.

Foreign language students seldom complain about their foreign study experience. Programs which are run with even a modicum of good organization and good sense usually elicit praise--especially from first-time travelers--for the linguistic progress, the exposure to customs and countrysides, and the good times which they provide. The language student on his first visit to the target country may experience a euphoria which suppresses "culture shock," and which often even excuses unhappy experiences. Exaggeratedly positive student evaluations, then, are commonplace.

Study-abroad participants perceive their linguistic advancement, and acknowledge their improved understanding of the foreign country and its people. These were the two primary elements of FL instruction in the past decade: language and culture. But in the past year our students have been requesting another consideration in language study: applicability to careers. Is it possible to include this provision in a study-abroad program?

In Germany the Goethe Institutes exemplify the best in intensive German language instruction; students are exposed to formal instruction in the classroom, and everyday life becomes the laboratory. Can there be an even better way to learn a foreign language than in an intensive institute in the foreign environment? Students in the National Work Study Program say there is!

The idea of a program abroad which would combine the best features of the conventional study tour with a period of actual employment in a regular job evolved at the University of Cincinnati in 1967. Professor Helga Slessarev, to whom the credit must go for conceiving the plan and successfully directing the first two programs, established a pattern which has continued to grow in quality and reputation. The National Work Study Program in Hamburg has now completed its ninth year, and final arrangements are being confirmed for the tenth. Since 1967 this annual program has had an average enrollment of 24; there have never been fewer than 18 participants, and in one year there were 30. What accounts for this steady attraction? The Work-Study Program offers something which few others can match. In the words of one of the 1974 participants: "The work phase was a practical application of our knowledge. . . . I think on the average the students' German improved more in the work phase than in the study part."[1]

Actually the thrust of the University of Cincinnati's program is three-pronged: it emphasizes the benefits of studying, living, and working in the German-speaking environment. Home-stays of a very special nature have been an essential feature since the program's very inception, and many students have felt that these home-stays were at least as beneficial as the job experience. What is it that makes these home-stays and work assignments better than average? To explain this, it is necessary to outline the schedule of the Work-Study Program in its present form.

The program is 16 weeks in duration, from mid-August to mid-December. The study phase comes first: seven or eight weeks of instruction in language and cultural history. By the end of this period, the students are more than ready for the vacation which is afforded by a one-week bus tour through southern Germany. This trip is an ordeal of speed and intensity. By the final day of the tour, the students look forward to the more stationary routine of the next major phase, the work assignment, which lasts approximately seven weeks. The capstone in this structure is a week-long seminar in Berlin.

Now let us look more closely at some of these components. The study phase is rather typical of American programs abroad. The students are placed into one of three levels of proficiency according to their performance on an examination. During this phase, and throughout the program, the "no English" rule is observed. For eight weeks there are ninety minutes of language instruction each morning with a teacher who is on leave from the Goethe Institute. The classes also meet for 90 minutes each morning with the program director, a member of the University of Cincinnati German faculty, for a course in cultural history and contemporary aspects of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Twice in the early 1970's the study phase was held in language institutes in central Germany; in all other years the site was Hamburg. There are clear advantages to either plan. When the study phase is conducted in Hamburg, the later Hamburg work phase requires less re-adjustment, and the home-stays can extend over the entire four months. But on the other hand there are economic advantages to holding part of the program away from the big city, and the students benefit from the experience of two different environments.

The Hamburg home-stays are much more than just a living arrangement, as the 1972 group learned from comparative experience. That was the year the study phase was held at the Lessing-Kolleg in Marburg, before the group moved to Hamburg. In Marburg the home-stays were arranged by the Lessing-Kolleg, and most of the Cincinnati students found that their hosts considered the relationship no more than a business contract--a way to rent out a spare room at a profit. In contrast, the home-stays in Hamburg are established on a much more personal basis, and are an important ingredient of the learning experience. One student wrote of the contrast: "I enjoyed my stay in Marburg, but there I was merely a guest, while in Hamburg I was part of the family, who took an active part in my education. They were extremely helpful and willing to answer any and every question."[2]

The Hamburg home-stays have been so satisfactory because they are the responsibility of a dependable and conscientious person, who is paid for her services. The Hamburg liaison person does more than simply advertise for rooms: she interviews the respondents, explains the rationale of the program (including the "no English" rule), inspects the homes, and satisfies herself that the families are motivated by a real interest in contributing to the students' learning, rather than by a desire for profit. In many cases the arrangement has been so satisfactory to both parties that the family has participated year after year. To be sure, there have been instances where the living conditions or the personal relationships were unacceptable, but these were few and new homes were found readily by the liaison person. Exactly the opposite experience has been the rule with most of the students: they are welcomed by their hosts, are invited to participate in all the activities of the family, and in some cases are even included in family trips. The contractual arrangement pays DM 180 per month for room and breakfast, but many students have been included at the family's evening meals as well. The program makes an effort to integrate the host families into its operation as active contributors by inviting all the host parents, shortly after the group arrives in Hamburg, to a dinner at which all the program participants introduce themselves. At the end of the Hamburg stay all of the hosts, teachers, and speakers are invited to a farewell party.

The Hamburg Liaison is paid DM 100 per student for her services, which means that she earns about $1000 for providing for a group of 25. But her obligation for this fee does not end with housing. It is also her responsibility to find the jobs which the students take during the work phase. This has proven to be a greater challenge than ever in these times of recession and unemployment, but even in the depressed markets of 1974 and 1975 good positions were found. Every effort is made to match the students with jobs which correspond to their career goals. For example: German majors, especially those who hope to become teachers, are assigned as assistants in kindergartens and child care centers; others work in bookstores. Biologists and chemists have been placed in pharmaceutical laboratories, a geologist joined a survey team, and pre-med students have assisted in hospitals and clinics. One year the group included a Roman Catholic priest; he served in the local parish. Liberal arts majors in fields other than German are not always easy to place in career-related professions, but a certain amount of ingenuity has led to such solutions as employing a classics major on a research project for the Hamburg City Archives. In several cases where the students were dissatisfied with their job placement, the liaison person has found new assignments.

A rather frequent objection from the Cincinnati students has been that they have felt under-occupied at their jobs. Still, all have benefited from the contact with their co-workers and--in some cases--with the public. Probably the greatest challenge has been faced by the students who have served in the office of a major insurance company each year since 1967: they have had to answer telephone inquiries about insurance. But even those who work as clerks in a department store find that their communicative skills are put to the test many times a day.

From the employers' perspective, the work phase is evidently more than satisfactory. Some firms have taken Work-Study students year after year, and some have demonstrated their approval in even more tangible ways. In one recent year two students accepted invitations to stay on at their jobs even after the work phase had ended; two others were invited to return any time they wished; and one young man was recommended by his employer for a stipend to study full-time for a year at the University of Hamburg.[3]

The work phase brings rewards of another type: the participants have an opportunity to see German life from the standpoint of the worker, and many form lasting friendships with fellow employees. These contacts have helped students to become involved in such varied activities as a modern dance group, a choir, an instrumental ensemble, and company soccer and bowling teams.

This is also a period in which the student has the satisfaction of being self-supporting. He is paid wages for his work at the regular scale for such employment. Quite understandably, the wages vary according to the demands of the position, from as little as DM 400 to as much as DM 1750 per month. This can lead to dissatisfaction among the program participants, and so for the past three years the wages have been "socialized," i.e. all of the earnings are pooled and then divided equally among the participants. This is agreed to by all members of the group long before the individual work assignments are made known. Most recently the actual share has been between DM 850 and DM 900 per month, or approximately $350.

So successful has the Hamburg Work-Study Program been, that it has been imitated by other departments and other institutions. We are now ready to embark on an enlargement of the concept here at home in the form of a business-academic cooperative program. The University of Cincinnati was a pioneer in this field fifty years ago, and since that time the popularity of "co-op-ing" has grown to tremendous proportions in the Colleges of Engineering and Business Administration. The idea is very simple, and eminently sensible. When the student enters a co-op program, he commits himself to an extension of his studies beyond the normal duration, and works at a career-related job and enrolls in courses in alternate terms. The co-op idea has now been approved on a trial basis for students in a few departments of the College of Arts and Sciences, and the coordinator for this experiment is the campus coordinator of our Hamburg program. She is already arranging for a few students of English and foreign languages to take co-op jobs in the Cincinnati area, and may even extend the program to Germany to take advantage of our contacts there. One girl who just returned from the Hamburg Work-Study Program has the promise of a job in Hamburg, and she may become the first of the German co-op majors.

Cincinnati is an important commercial and industrial city, with strong economic ties to Europe. It offers an ideal climate in which to develop a practical application for today's growing interest in career-directed foreign language instruction. Nine years of Hamburg experience, together with 50 years of co-op experience, assure a solid foundation for this new venture. Already we are beginning to feel the benefit of our improved contacts with the business world: at the time of this writing, General Electric has just asked the University of Cincinnati German Department to set up an in-house German program for upper and middle executives. We expect this sort of demand to grow.

Notes

[1] National Work-Study Program in Germany - 1974, p. 9.

[2] Ibid., p. 20.

[3] Ibid., p. 21.

REFORMATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING: CAREER EDUCATION

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An act of congress was required to initiate a self-evaluation process in our profession. The fact that all teachers in this country are, directly or indirectly, forced to evaluate their teaching objectives in light of present realities is unquestionably the most positive outcome of the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and Vocational Education Act Amendments of 1968.[1]

In the spirit of self-evaluation then, we foreign language teachers, if no one else, ought also to look beyond our immediate environment for information which might help us to reform our teaching goals, if not our whole professional "value system." Thus, I feel it appropriate to share with you the insights I gained from European colleagues while participating in a two-day workshop on "Teaching Foreign Languages for Use in Industry and Commerce" at the FIPLV/AATG/ACTFL Convention in Washington, D.C., in November, 1975.

This preconference workshop was conducted by the foreign language chairmen of Lufthansa and LURGI, an engineering consortium from Frankfurt, of Esso Oil and the Vocational Rehabilitation Program from Hamburg. These department heads are members of ERFA-wirtschaft (Erfahrungsaustauschring Sprachlabor Wirtschaft), "an organization supported by some forty companies in the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland."[2] Firms such as Lufthansa, Esso, Volkswagen, IBM-Germany, Swissair, Hoechst, AEG-Telefunken and AGFA, to name but a few, offer foreign language training programs to their employees. ERFA's aim is to "further the exchange of experience and know-how among the foreign language training officers of the member companies in order to achieve the highest possible level of performance and efficiency" in their respective training programs.[3]

Even a cursory glance at the experiences, objectives, and accomplishments of ERFA-wirtschaft will show that it offers pertinent discussion material which is valid for all of us. In the 40 member companies, which include two vocational rehabilitation centers in Hamburg and Heidelberg, more than ten thousand employees presently participate in foreign language training. Hans Wolfgang Wolff, president of ERFA, estimates that in all of Europe well above one hundred thousand adult students are attending, what he calls, in-service foreign language courses.[4] At a recent meeting of ERFA in Wuppertal he found that 9 out of the 25 companies represented offer foreign language instruction during regular working hours; participation in foreign language instruction is considered part of the job and is paid as such.

The fundamental problem abroad sounds very familiar: on the basis of studies conducted in the Federal Republic of Germany, it can be shown that "foreign language teaching in English in Gymnasien is obviously not capable of fixing the elementary grammatical structures of the foreign language in the minds of the pupils and thereby avoiding the interference of German language patterns."[5] As Wolff phrased it: ". . . the vast majority of the young people churned out by the state educational machine are not able to cope with the communicative requirements of the international business world today" and, therefore, "foreign language instruction in industrial and commercial concerns helps to correct the omissions of European schools and universities in the teaching of communicative skills."[6]

Learning objectives for foreign language acquisition in industry and commerce are different from those in the school system. The emphasis is on communicative skills per se, i.e., skills related directly to professional obligations. "This means that the foreign language is learned as a medium of communication, not as a means of furthering general education."[7]

Different, too, are the learners and the learning environment. Foreign language learners in industry and commerce are highly motivated because of incentives such as higher pay, more interesting jobs and greater potential than would otherwise be available for professional advancement due to their foreign language skills. Consequently, foreign language learners in industry and commerce reach their goals much faster than students in the school system who frequently have as much as nine years of foreign language instruction: "Training courses in commercial firms take 4, 6, or 12 weeks, a semester or, at most, a year."[8] The efficiency demonstrated by foreign language programs in industry and commerce has been so convincing that they are now effecting changes in the public school system, particularly in the determination of learning goals.

Such is the report from Europe. How does it relate to the situation in the U.S.? To my knowledge no studies are available which would allow us to compare foreign language proficiency of American high school graduates to their peers in West-Germany. However, some statistics on the foreign language proficiency of Americans who hold at least a B.A. degree have been accumulated by the Foreign Service Institute since 1959. These statistics show that, by and large, the median entering-proficiency level in foreign languages among foreign service officers has been about S-1 and S-1+, that is, elementary proficiency on a scale from 1 to 5.[9] Another study conducted in 1967, which correlated the MLA Achievement Tests to the FSI Absolute Proficiency Ratings, established that even foreign language majors in French, German, and Spanish performed only with a median speaking ability of S-2 to S-2+ on the FSI scale, meaning that even our language majors are only "able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements" and are only "able to read simple prose, in a form equivalent to typescript or printing, on subjects within a familiar context."[10]

Since this level of communication skills of our students falls short of making them a true asset for professional requirements in most career areas, does this mean we should leave foreign language teaching to the experts in industry, commerce or government? Evidence is accumulating which leaves no doubt that our traditional foreign language programs are enhancing neither the career potential of our students nor their competitiveness on an international market.

A study funded by the U.S. Office of Education investigated American post-secondary level foreign language study in relation to the world of work. The following comments and quotes are based on a paper by Dr. Rex Arnett[11] in which he disregards the "dabblers" for whom our foreign language programs have been and will be satisfactory and speaks on behalf of the "serious language student" for whom "career goals are dependent upon languages or for whom career aspirations are considerably enhanced by language skills," a student who is "seeking an education at the college, university, or technical school level primarily in order to obtain a means of earning a livelihood."

In the interest of such students then, the Olympus Research Corporation, under the auspices of the U.S. Manpower Development and Training Office, collected data which deserve our close attention. The ORC surveyed 6,000 U.S. business firms of which 23% responded. These firms listed more than 60,000 jobs for which they required or desired foreign language skills. Language skills in greatest demand are Spanish, French, German, Portuguese, and Italian, in that order, followed by Arabic, Russian, Chinese, Indonesian, etc.

The future for a multi-lingual job seeker in business and technology is bright. The fact that the total value of U.S. exports has increased from $15,340.3 million in 1947 to $98,507.2 million in 1974 (about 6 1/2 times more) and the total value of U.S. imports has increased from $5,755.7 million in 1947 to $100,251.0 million in 1974 (about 17 times more)[12] lends credibility to the claim that our nation needs foreign language skills in business and industry.

Students who have a foreign language fluency and graduate with a B.A. degree are sought by several institutes in this country which offer International M.B.A. programs. The International Institute of the Graduate School of Management of the University of Dallas, for example, sends its students abroad to attain a prescribed foreign language competency. Even though such an "externship" for foreign training might seem to be a loss of time, H. A. Merklein, Director of the Institute, argues that foreign language fluency is that career potential which sets the student apart "from the other 26,000--plus M.B.A. degree holders that are graduated each year in the U.S." The annual starting salary for an M.B.A. exceeds that of a B.A. by $4,600.[14]

Aside from industry and business, the U.S. Government is the largest employer for people with foreign language skills. In fiscal year 1971, the U.S. government spent around sixty million dollars for foreign language training and is still "a long way off" from satisfying the ever-growing needs for qualified foreign language personnel.[15] The government is training about 66,000 employees annually for about 25,000 positions which require foreign language skills.[16] In case some of our students are considering waiting for Uncle Sam to pay for their foreign language training, they should know that those applicants for government employment who have a competence in foreign languages "frequently receive better pay in their very first government jobs because of their increased usefulness. . . ."[17]

In view of the obvious, ever increasing need for foreign language skills in business, industry, and government, the ORC study, along with every other research work published in this subject area, calls for competence in foreign language as an ancillary skill in every type of career preparation. This presupposes close cooperation between the foreign language department and other departments, especially at the college and university level. Arnett identified one basic problem which must be overcome: "Unfortunately one of the first barriers (to achieve cooperation between various departments) lies within the ranks of language teachers themselves. . . . Language teaching for the pragmatic usage implied in the world of work is seen as degrading and a betrayal of professional orientation toward the humanities. The obvious opportunity to perhaps lend a humanizing influence to the sciences, the business professions, and to future bureaucrats, is ignored."[18]

No one has expressed this problem more succinctly and courageously than Richard Brod, Director of Foreign Language Programs on the staff of the MLA, who, woefully aware of the dismal decline in foreign language student enrollments says: "To me, the lesson to be drawn from the recent history of the foreign language teaching profession is that the only way to reform language training in U.S. higher education is to break the tyranny of literature. . . ."[19] While he argues against the development of granting more D.A. degrees which David Benseler, for example, sees as a possible way to achieve a much needed reform in our graduate school curricula,[20] they both agree in substance: foreign language instruction as communicative skills must be divorced from the dominion of research-oriented professors of literature. Brod advocates a clear separation between department of language and literature and "the establishment, on large campuses, of large schools or institutes whose primary purpose would be teaching of language skills--both reading and audiolingual--to both campus and the community, both 'town and gown,' for credit or for cash, as the needs and situation of each individual student determine."[21] Such a separation of communicative skills and literature would, in fact, provide a compromise situation which would still justify foreign language training at the college level for the career-minded student instead of leaving it to a more efficient on-the-job training done in industry, commerce, and government.

Our profession will welcome the concepts of career education in the American school system. Some of our distinguished colleagues have already reordered their programs. At Stanford, for example, the restructuring and conversion of the Department of German to the Department of German Studies, mindful of the student's possible future career in international business, international law, diplomacy, translation or interpretation, has brought about a revitalization and expansion of the total program, including the teaching of literature.[22] Reforming our programs in the interest and for the benefit of the student's future employability while guarding or even expanding our traditional objectives: therein lies the true challenge to our profession.

I am proposing the following ideas toward a reform of foreign language programs:

1. Attention ought to be given to a nation-wide awareness program which presents foreign language study, in addition to its traditional image as an enlightening, humanizing experience, as valuable training for use in careers. A few cute posters, buttons, or bumperstickers will not do much to enhance the image of our profession; if anything, they trivialize it. An examplary awareness program is one initiated by Judy Daugherty in North Salem High School. In conjunction with colleagues she identified the Junior High School career education courses as the best place to start publicity for foreign language programs. Involving as many career education people, counselors, and administrators as possible, she put together a "Foreign Language/Career Education Kit." The declared purpose of this kit is "to demonstrate to students the practical value foreign languages can have in broadening and enhancing their career potential and to encourage those students not already enrolled in foreign languages to begin studies in that area early enough to reach optimum proficiency." For inclusion in such an "awareness kit" and for easy accessibility for both teachers and students in each foreign language department, I recommend a collection of succinctly written, factual articles on foreign languages in relation to various careers. Besides the article by Lucille Honig and Richard Brod, "Foreign Languages and Careers,"[23] the Bulletin of the Association of Departments of Foreign Languages contains a rich source of relevant articles.
2. Workshops and in-service programs to train foreign language teachers in career counseling must be initiated. Provided with factual information, every foreign language teacher can become a career counselor. In our concern for humanizing students, we must necessarily include concern for their ability to earn a living--if for no other reason than saving our credibility among other professionals.
3. Foreign language teachers must be informed about careers for which foreign language proficiency is a valuable ancillary skill to initiate communication with other departments at their institutions and help develop programs which make sense to the students.
4. Foreign language teachers at public and private institutions can learn from colleagues teaching in industry, business, or government and perhaps experiment with separating the teaching of communicative skills from general education objectives. There may be advantages in offering first- and second-year courses in communicative skills only, while cultural, historical, social, economical, and political aspects of the target language are offered in optional "mini-courses" taught in English. For these additional courses, we can engage colleagues from other departments.
5. Experiences gained by the "individualized instruction" movement offer self-learning packages and processes to be used for the exploration of different career options for advanced students. There are exemplary materials published by the Max Hueber Verlag in Munich. In addition to many textbooks on specific careers, Hueber Verlag is now also offering an individualized "German for Business" course consisting of ten taped units well suited to an independent study course on or beyond the third-year level. Used in a class setting two hours per week with about 15 minutes out-of-class work daily, it provides material for about one year of study. A similar study program in French, called Parlons Affaires, is also available.
6. Should not the curriculum for foreign language teacher preparation, be it for the public school certificate, the D.A., or the Ph.D. include career education possibilities? Some excellent recommendations in this regard have been made in the ADFL Bulletins of September 1974 and May 1975.[24]

Credit hours or degrees accumulated by foreign language students are not sufficient in the world of work. What counts is the student's specific foreign language proficiency. Would it be possible to facilitate career placement for our students through standardized exams and differentiated certificates?

Allowing for career preparation in our teaching programs will not cause a great rush of students into our classrooms right now. Perhaps four years hence career awareness programs of today will bring students to us who are truly convinced that foreign language proficiency will furnish them with a competitive edge for getting a job and holding it. Now is the time to recognize our responsibility as educators of the physical and spiritual human being for potential careers.

Notes

[1] For concise information on career education see Edwin L. Herr, Review and Synthesis of Foundations for Career Education (New York: ERIC Clearing House on Vocational and Technical Information, 1972).

[2] Quoted from the introductory statement given at the FIPLV/AATG/ACTFL Annual Meeting, 25 November 1975, by Hans Wolfgang Wolff, President of ERFA-wirtschaft, who kindly furnished me with a copy of his paper.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 13. Wolff quoted from D. Hamblock & D. Wessels. "Ein Einstufungstest im Hochschulbereich: Bemerkungen zum gymnasialen Englischunterricht," *Zielsprache Englisch*, Heft 1 (1972), pp. 3-13.

[6] *Ibid*.

[7] *Ibid*.

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] Allen I. Weinstein, "Foreign Language Majors: The Washington Perspective," *ADFL Bulletin*, 6 (May, 1975), pp. 22-23.

[10] *Ibid*.

[11] Rex Arnett, "Languages for the World of Work: Implications of a Recent Study." (Paper delivered at the ACTFL Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., November 1975.)

[12] *1973 Business Statistics, 19th Biannual Edition*, U.S. Dept. of Commerce and from *Survey of Current Business*, 56 (January 1976), U.S. Dept. of Commerce.

[13] H. A. Merklein, "Multinational Corporate Perceptions of an International M.B.A. Degree," *ADFL Bulletin*, 6 (May 1975), p. 35.

[14] H. A. Merklein, "Languages and Business," *ADFL Bulletin*, 5 (May 1974), p. 8.

[15] Weinstein, p. 27.

[16] Data presented by Dr. Wilkins (Project Director of Languages for the World of Work, Olympus Research Corp., Salt Lake City) at the ACTFL Annual Meeting, 29 November 1975.

[17] Weinstein, p. 23.

[18] Arnett, see footnote 11.

[19] Richard Brod, "Reforming the Ph.D. on the Model of the D.A.," *ADFL Bulletin*, 6 (May 1975), p. 11.

[20] David P. Benseler, "Is There Life After Death? New Perspectives on the Doctor of Arts in Foreign Languages," *ADFL Bulletin*, 6 (May 1975), pp. 5-8.

[21] Brod, p. 11.

[22] Walter F. W. Lohnes, "Conversion and Expansion of a Department of German Studies," *ADFL Bulletin*, 5 (March 1974), pp. 30-33.

[23] This booklet of 31 pages can be ordered from the Modern Language Association, 62 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

[24] The September 1974 issue, for example, contains the following pertinent essays: Charlotte Anderson, "The Role of Foreign Languages in the Total Curriculum," pp. 20-22; Frederick D. Eddy, "Staffing Foreign Language Departments in Colleges and Universities: A Tentative Draft of Criteria for Teaching and Professional Service," pp. 31-37; Anne Austin Murphy, "Undergraduate Foreign Language Training and Social Science Research," pp. 37-38; Luba H. Kowalski, "Russian for Business and Commerce," pp. 42-45; Carol S. Fuller, "Language-Oriented Careers in the Federal Government," pp. 45-51. The *ADFL Bulletin*, 6 (May 1975) continues the series, as it were, of articles which assert the need for alternatives to present curriculum offerings: David P. Benseler, "Is There Life After Death? New Perspectives on the Doctor of Arts in Foreign Languages," pp. 5-8; Richard I. Brod, "Reforming the Ph.D. on the Model of the D.A.," pp. 9-12; Lane Jennings, "Unmaking our own Job Crises," pp. 12-15; James R. Frith, "Cooperation among Governmental Agencies in the Language Field," pp. 15-17; Allen I. Weinstein, "Foreign Language Majors: The Washington Perspective," pp. 18-27; Norman J. Chachkin, "The Law and Foreign Languages," pp. 28-32; H. A. Merklein, "Multinational Corporate Perceptions of an International M.B.A. Degree," pp. 33-35; Alan C. Bedell, "On Organizing a Foreign Language Career Conference," pp. 36-37; Albrecht Holschuh, "Certificates in Ancillary Language Skills," pp. 38-39.

CAREER EDUCATION AT THE COLLEGE LEVEL: THE FIFTH SPOKE IN THE WHEEL OF *GERMANISTIK*

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Flying back to Houston recently from a one-day Conference on Career Education, I was thinking over some of the comments, questions, and criticisms I had heard regarding career education per se, and career education at the college level in particular. Had career education, this non-intellectual, non-scholarly subject, managed to penetrate Ivy Hall? I took stock of my own reactions to the subject of career education and jotted them down on paper. By the time the plane landed in Houston, I had filled several pages with disjointed phrases and diagrams. Among my scribbled notes was the title of the paper: Career Education at the College Level: The Fifth Spoke in the Wheel of *Germanistik*.

Since I have already identified the fifth spoke in my title, let me quickly name the other four, not necessarily in their proper order: linguistics; literature; *Landeskunde*; and pedagogy--the teaching of language, literature, and *Landeskunde*.

It is common knowledge that foreign language enrollments across the country, both at the secondary and college level, have steadily declined over the past five years. You know it from your own experience in the classroom. Primarily responsible for this decline is not a sudden, nation-wide decrease of *real* interest in foreign languages, however. Rather, the elimination of foreign language requirements by many of the nation's colleges and universities has reduced the number of high school and college students who *must* take a foreign language, whether they want to or not. True, total foreign language enrollment has dropped markedly, and some programs have been eliminated, but to a much greater extent than before, the students in today's foreign language classes are there because they *want* to learn the language I am convinced that the *real* interest in foreign languages has not changed much over the past five years. It may even have grown somewhat, since today's foreign language students are a group of highly motivated youngsters. I am sure we all remember the other kind--the frequently reluctant, disinterested, and disgruntled foreign language student of yesterday. Do we really want him back in the classroom?

In addition, today's highly motivated foreign language students are taught by intelligent, interested, and innovative teachers who are trying their best to stem the tide of decreasing enrollments by offering language programs, more specifically tailored to their students' academic and personal interests and needs. How well have these teachers, and how well have you and I, succeeded?

The following statistics, developed from data supplied by a survey of enrollment figures in 400 colleges during the period 1970-1974, may provide a meaningful yardstick. The survey was conducted by the Modern Language Association of America, with the results published recently in the *MLA Newsletter*.[1] The study shows that, in the 400 colleges surveyed (one-sixth of the nation's total), foreign language enrollments declined as follows: French 28%; German 24%; Russian 12%; and Spanish 5%. If the rate of decline in your own school or college is lower, you are fortunate; if it is higher, you may reasonably expect an uncomfortable road ahead of you, with administrators and district foreign language supervisors looking askance at you, as if you were some exotic luxury which was all right to keep around when times were good and money more plentiful, but which today may be an unnecessary budgetary burden that could quite easily be rationalized out of existence.

Unfortunately, there are no magic solutions to slow or reverse a declining enrollment trend. However, the situation is not hopeless, either. With hard work, ingenuity, and persistence, some remarkable results can be and have been achieved. One promising direction is the incorporation of a career component in the foreign language program.

Particularly at the secondary level, where the notion of career education has already gained firm footing in more than 17,000 of the nation's school districts, it should not be too difficult to tie foreign languages and careers more closely together. The advantages of such a liaison in Spanish, for example, are readily seen in bilingual communities such as Los Angeles, San Diego, San Antonio, Houston, Miami, or New York. In other communities the need for foreign language skills in various occupations is perhaps less obvious, but it exists nevertheless. For example, during the last AATG national convention in Washington, D.C., I saw a film produced at Oregon State University, in which Professor Wolfgang Dill of the Modern Language Department interviewed various professionals in Portland (business executives, marketing experts, bank employees, airport personnel, and others) about the need for--and the usefulness of--foreign language skills in the performance of their duties. The verdict was unanimous: foreign languages (two, even three) were found to be especially helpful in the performance of their routine duties, helped to accelerate their professional advancement, and made their job more satisfying and enjoyable.

For more information on the link between foreign languages and various career fields, I recommend Professor Barbara Elling's article (SUNY-Stony Brook) "Career Alternatives for Students of German," scheduled for publication (Summer 1976) in a special edition of *Monatshefte* entitled *German Studies in the United States: Assessment and Outlook*. Using Edwin Herr's fifteen career clusters,[2] Professor Elling lists for each a series of specific professions and vocations in which a foreign language skill is either required or desirable. Her article also includes a listing of nearly thirty major categories of employers who are constantly looking for prospective employees with foreign language skills as a secondary qualification. I would suggest that every interested foreign language teacher at the secondary level not only read Professor Elling's article carefully, but also hand a copy of it to every counselor in his school. I cannot think of a more effective way in which he could make the point that foreign language skills are indeed useful for many more purposes than just getting into college, trying to read foreign literature in the original, or inquiring of a native where the train station is.

I would also like to call the attention of high school teachers to two other innovative and broad-based career education programs in German, French, and Spanish that have been developed and implemented at the junior and senior schools in Montgomery County, Maryland, and Prince Georges County, Maryland. Anyone interested in details about these two successful programs could obtain details by writing to the Superintendent of Public Schools in the two respective counties.

The following comments are more specifically addressed to those teaching at the college leve. At both levels students and teachers can look at a foreign language as more than an end in itself. In high school direction toward a career can be incorporated into the existing language programs and thereby strengthen them and increase enrollment. In college, however, a somewhat more complex problem exists. Let there be no mistake: the four present "spokes in the wheel" must continue to be taught for those students, majors and others, whose needs they serve. Linguistics, literature, Landeskunde, and pedagogy must remain as strong as ever. Foreign language career education, however, foreign language as an auxiliary skill, must be developed as an additional, a fifth spoke. Let me explain.

For some time now I have been troubled by comments from students enrolled in degree programs of professional schools who take a foreign language course. At the end of a year of diligent study these students, although they enjoy using their newly acquired linguistic skills, often feel that little relationship exists between the language course's content and the particular profession in which they hope to apply the new skill. Specifically, what does the future junior executive of IBM, General Motors, or Georgia-Pacific, who has ambitions of working for the firm in a German-speaking country, learn in the average first and second year college course in German that would enable him to perform his work more effectively in the foreign country? The answer is: very little. He has learned and relearned the German grammar system, by which I mean morphology, syntax, and usage; he has learned how to pronounce German without too much of an American accent; and he has acquired in the process, at best, a vocabulary consisting of 1,000 to 1,500 words after one year of study, and approximately 3,000 words after two years of study, which will enable him to engage in small talk, buy a loaf of bread and some wine and cheese to go with it, rent a room in a hotel, ask for directions, order a meal, and possibly even discuss something as puzzling as Kafka's parable "Vor dem Gesetz." If he has been exposed to culture-oriented teachers, he may in addition have a smattering of knowledge about German geography, history, politics, music, and art, with a sufficiently large active vocabulary to carry on simple conversations about these matters. But here, for all practical purposes, his communicative ability ends, unless his colleagues and acquaintances in Germany are part-time literati who enjoy discussing in their free time the merits of literary works by Thomas Mann, Ilse Aichinger, Hermann Hesse, Heinrich Böll, or Günter Grass. To do his job more efficiently, to communicate with his colleagues and associates more effectively, and to share with them more easily the professional knowledge he has accumulated in his years of study--for this task his German studies have not equipped him adequately.

Furthermore, the budding junior executive cannot afford to take a back seat after office hours either, when he enters the social sphere of his professional life. On the contrary, although the atmosphere of his verbal interaction may have changed from a strictly professional to a more relaxed, informal, cultural one, he is still expected by his associates and acquaintances to participate, even though they may be quick to make allowances for the degree of his active participation.

In short: the student who is about to become an overseas businessman needs to have a language proficiency equal to the fourth level on the scale of the Foreign Service Institute (FSI). The FSI, which is part of the Department of State, trains and tests career diplomats and foreign service personnel. It has established six language proficiency levels. In ascending order, these levels are: 0) Zilch: no practical speaking proficiency; 1) Survival level: an elementary language proficiency (many of our college students are able to perform at this level after one year of study); 2) Social level: a limited working proficiency (few of our college students are able to function at this level after two years of foreign language study); 3) Semi-pro level: a minimum level of professional proficiency (few, if any, of our students from the professional schools ever reach this level even after three years of study of the language, since the programs available to them are really not geared to their specific needs); 4) Pro-level: full professional proficiency; ability to function at all levels in a job without any serious linguistic problems; 5) Expert: native or truly bilingual proficiency.

On the basis of this scale, the challenge facing us as language teachers of a student from a professional school with an international career before him is enormous. How can we better prepare him, in the one or two years we will have him, to hold his own in professional and social situations? We, as a profession, seem to have paid too little attention to this particular group of highly motivated, practical students. For them a foreign language is a vitally important tool needed to ply their trade. These students, who may be studying law, engineering, business administration, or hotel management on our campuses, need our help.

The problem I have called attention to is by no means insignificant. A few examples will illustrate this point. During the past ten years many American business firms have found foreign sales increasingly difficult to accomplish. Many complex factors are responsible for this situation, a major one being the tremendous technological progress European and Asian countries have experienced during the past fifteen years. For, at the same time that America has shared its wealth and technical know-how with the people of other nations, the American businessman abroad has seen his competitive advantage slip gradually, as young, well-trained, and vigorous competitors from Europe and Asia have entered the international marketplace. Many of the new competitors, especially those from Europe, are often more successful than their American counterparts, even when quality, price, and other factors are equal. One of the reasons for this situation is easy to comprehend: it is more convenient for the prospective customer to deal with a seller directly, in his own language, rather than through an interpreter. These knowledgable European and Asian businessmen speak several foreign languages fluently. They are at ease in the cultural setting of the country of their prospective customers and are socially able to integrate smoothly in the new language community, since often they lived in the host country for some time when they were young; and, they possess a sufficiently broad professional vocabulary to conduct their business meetings in the language of their prospective customer. In the world of international business, the American businessman frequently lacks these three assets and is, therefore, often placed at a disadvantage. If he speaks a foreign language at all, his proficiency in it is generally at, or below, the survival (1) level.

A similar problem exists in multi-national corporations. Here key personnel positions overseas are generally staffed with intelligent, well-trained Americans whose knowledge of the foreign language and culture in which they are to communicate, live, work, and socially interact with the natives is, however, often only the result of a crash program at the Berlitz school or of a similar company-operated language program. The results are too well known to need elaboration; they have often produced extremely costly consequences, to the extent that Coca-Cola Japan, for instance, now refuses to hire any American for a management position. Experience has shown that, although Americans are professionally competent, they are too often unable to handle the language at a minimum professional proficiency level and are equally unable to integrate socially into Japanese society. Any executive of a multi-national corporation is able to cite numerous other instances to illustrate this point.

With United States corporations in 1971 having 25,000 affiliates abroad, and with United States overseas investment in the same year totalling nearly $28 billion in Europe alone, $13 billion in Latin America, and an additional $5 billion in the Middle East, the Pacific, and Asia,[3] it seems essential to protect that investment by ensuring that American business executives, corporation lawyers, and engineers reach a minimum-professional-foreign-language-proficiency before they arrive at their overseas post.

There is a third area in which the general monolingual handicap of American professional school graduates presents a problem. The number of foreign corporations operating plants in this country is constantly growing; in 1971, for example, foreign investment in the United States from Europe alone exceeded $10 billion.[4] These corporations need a well-trained multi-lingual staff at the mid-management level. They are not looking for language majors, but for capable graduates of professional schools (business administration, hotel management, law, engineering, and medicine) who, in addition to their professional qualifications, also possess sufficient foreign language skills to communicate effectively with the frequently non-American senior staff and the home office.

When President Ford, in his Ohio State University address of 30 August, 1974, alluded to a search for "a new climate of credibility" between academe and employers, calling for a "practical application of education" to provide university graduates with what he termed "jobs that make sense as well as money," he might just as well have been addressing himself to the general problem I have outlined. Over 142,000 young men and women earned a bachelor's or master's degree in business administration in 1971. If only ten percent of them had left college with a minimum professional proficiency in at least one foreign language, they would have been better equipped to perform successfully in the jobs for which they had prepared themselves during four years of diligent study. The same holds true of the 6,000 1971 graduates in engineering; the 30,000 in political science; the 18,000 in law; the 12,000 in economics; and the 6,300 in hotel management.[5] Those thousands of professional students, well-equipped with a foreign language as an auxiliary skill, would have more easily found the job they wanted. Of course, this statement presupposes that foreign language departments across the country had anticipated the potential market and offered these students programs particularly designed to meet their specific needs; unfortunately, such has not been the case.

During the past year I have talked with deans, curriculum committee chairmen, and faculty members at a number of professional schools (business administration, law, engineering, and hotel management) on several major university campuses throughout the country. All of them share with me the concern about the problems I have outlined here, as well as the belief that some comprehensive program needs to be developed to deal with the foreign language deficiencies of their internationally-directed students. The challenge to the language teaching profession is clear: to create a basic foreign language program which, once its methodology and materials have been developed and thoroughly tested, can be repeated in any modern language without much variation.

Such a program should not only focus on the acquisition of basic linguistic skills, useful in everyday conversation on and off the job. It should also include at least two other components: 1) a strong cultural segment (Landeskunde, as the Germans call it), to equip the student for interaction with natives at the social level; and 2) a professional segment, to teach the student the specialized vocabulary of his profession which he will need to interact smoothly with colleagues, and to deal effectively with the routine problems of his job. Both components are essential to the program. Finally, such a program might conclude with a practicum of several months in the student's particular professional field in the target language country.

At a time of reduced and still declining enrollments in many foreign languages, as a profession, we ought to accept the challenge I have outlined here and work on developing the kinds of programs that serve the needs of the professional student population. I see no reason why the notion of a foreign language as an auxiliary skill cannot lead to the development of the kind of program suggested above; and, there is no reason, either, why such a program, properly identified in the college catalogue, should not become a vital and productive component within the profession. Therefore, I fail to see why the concept of career education cannot be incorporated into the philosophy of foreign language departments at the college level, so that career education may indeed become an equal partner, a strengthening fifth spoke, in the wheel of *Germanistik*.

Notes

[1] *MLA Newsletter*, 7, iii, 19 May 1975, p. 3.

[2] Edwin Herr, *Review and Synthesis of Foundations for Career Education* (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1972).

[3] *U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis: Survey of Current Business, 1973* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1974).

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] *U.S. Office of Education: Earned Degrees Conferred, 1970-1971* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1972).

FOLKLORE OF TESTING

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We have paid so much attention during recent years to the development of competing techniques for teaching foreign languages that relatively little has been done to improve evaluative techniques. Despite the work of such persons as Rebecca Valette, who has championed criterion-referenced testing, many evaluative programs today are still based on assumptions steeped in the folklore of testing, i.e. widely accepted principles which have not been subjected to close scrutiny in controlled situations. Little research has been done in identifying specific techniques which should be employed or avoided in test construction. This is an unfortunate oversight, for the testing program may well be the most important component of the total foreign language program, whether the test be used as a measure for progress or for diagnostic purposes.

Our experience in the Edmonds School District during the past decade has provided some insight into the fallacious nature of a few of the principles included in the corpus of the popular folklore. One of the most popular principles is that the test should have no subjective element, i.e. it should be "objective." The nationally-normed, standardized examinations, such as the MLA or CEEB exams or the proficiency tests developed by Pimsleur, enjoy a high degree of respectability. By now their reliability and validity as measured by traditional standards must be virtually beyond question. In the early 1960's Edmonds High School was one of the schools involved in establishing norms for the MLA exams. A year or so after our involvement in this process I culled from the protogype German exams fifty items which should have conformed to the materials currently being covered in our district program. With these items I constructed an examination which we hoped would provide an objective standard for determining which students were ready to proceed to the next level in our sequence.

The two high schools which offered German at that time administered this exam to students at the end of second semester for three consecutive years. Each year we noted obvious lack of correlation between the exam scores and earned grades, but this disparity was attributed to the admittedly subjective element in all teacher grading. The median score, however, seemed consistent, and we began to feel that we were nearing our goal. For some 115 students in the two schools who took the exam over a three year period, the median number of correct answers on the fifty-item exam was sixteen. Furthermore, this median remained constant from year to year and from school to school.

In September of the fourth year of this project I administered the exam to a beginning German class on the third day of school, i.e. before the students had begun to have any real introduction to German. Members of the class were urged to take the exam seriously: they were told to try to pick the correct answers to the questions in whatever way appealed to them. These students had a median score of thirteen, i.e. the median score of this group of beginning students on the third day in class (and so far as we know, none had had any previous training in German) was only three points lower than the median score previously established for students who had completed a full year of study.

The fact that the median score for the beginning students, who were really guessing, was mathematically predictable does not invalidate the more important observation that students may be much better at guessing than we frequently imagine. Nor does the fact that this MLA-based exam was invalid for our students eliminate the fact that a similar exam was being widely used by a number of colleges and universities at that time for placement of incoming freshmen. Following the collapse of this attempt to find an objective standard, we also tried the Pimsleur achievement test at the end of another year. The scores on the Pimsleur test had an even lower correlation with earned grades than did the MLA-based exam.

Our experiences should be instructive. These nationally normed exams were invalid for our students because the exams did not test for the specific objectives of our program. It would seem self-evident that any valid exam must test for the objectives which were to be taught. We should question whether any standardized exam can provide truly valid information regarding any specific program. The problem arises because of the search for the elusive quality of "objectivity" in evaluation. Progress in developing adequate testing or evaluation procedures depends on our ability to rid ourselves of the fallacious notion that a test can in some sense be "objective." Whether an exam is constructed by the individual teacher for classroom use or by a central agency for nationwide administration, all exams have questions which are the result of choices having been made. And when a choice is made, a subjective element is automatically built into the exam. Each question on any exam is selected by an individual or a committee. Each question either is concerned with material which the examiner considers to be important or it is concerned with material which the examiner considers to be unimportant. If the question covers unimportant material, the exam certainly could not be considered to be valid. If the question is concerned with important material, the importance attached to this item is the result of a subjective judgment by the examiner. Thus, every item on every examination is itself the result of some previous subjective evaluation of the materials to be tested. In addition to this, of course, the weighting of exam scores--grading the exams--represents a further subjective evaluation, whether on a national scale or in a particular classroom.

In testing for objectives, one must also be sure that the results are weighed according to clearly established priorities. Still seeking some agreement on standards, several years ago I conducted a survey of foreign language grading practices in the Edmonds schools and in two other cooperating school districts. The questionnaire included a number of questions on which the teacher was asked to set priorities on the several skills involved in foreign language learning. Finally, each teacher was presented with eight sets of scores taken from my gradebook the previous year. The scores included all grades the students had received on their classwork in the various areas. The teacher was then asked to assign a single report card grade for each student. There was not only no concensus of how these scores should be translated into a single report card grade (the same student received a B from one teacher and a D from another), but individual teachers assigned report card grades that contradicted their professed objectives, e.g. even though some teachers claimed that speaking ability should constitute 25% of the grade, they in fact gave a report card grade which virtually ignored the student's scores in this skill. Indeed there was so little correlation between professed objectives and assigned grades that no attempt was made to pursue this project further.

Test item selection and format are rich sources of unsupported hypotheses. For instance, some experts have argued that the material in a listening comprehension test must be presented only once, for reasons which have never been too clear to me. I did a controlled study of this hypothesis at Edmonds High School a few years ago. The publisher's exams which accompany our adopted text have tapes on which the material is given only one reading. I used these tapes with one of my beginning classes. Using the publisher's tapes, I prepared another set of test tapes on which each piece of material was read twice. This set of tapes was used for testing my other beginning class. At the end of a half-semester the sets of tapes were exchanged, so each beginning student took exams for one-half the semester with the listening portion presented only once and the other half semester with the taped materials presented twice. At the end of the semester the number of errors committed on the listening portions of the exams was analyzed. Students averaged 25% more errors when they took exams with material read only once on tape. This result was further confirmed by noting the relative degree of success for individual students in relation to which set of tapes they were using. Those students who initially were using the tapes with a single presentation reduced the number of their errors by 25% when they began using the tapes with the material repeated for each item. Conversely the number of errors increased by 34% when students who had been using the tapes with double presentations began using the publisher's original version. That the particular set of tapes was responsible for these differences is further borne out by noting that by the end of the semester there was only a 3% difference in the average number of errors in each beginning class, i.e. each class did significantly better when using the tapes with the material read twice and significantly worse when using the tapes with material read only once.

This study of the relative success of students in relation to taped materials being read once or twice may be trivial, but it does indicate the kind of study which is badly needed. And anyone interested in becoming involved in a project of this sort will certainly find a vast array of assumed principles which need to be studied. For example, one of the most sanctified principles of all--originally pontificated by professors of education and codified during the audiolingual era--is that a student must never see or hear an incorrect or nonexistent form. The assumption seems to be that improper forms are so attractive that after a single presentation the student will never again be able to resist the temptation to use them. My instinct and experience tell me that truly valid multiple choice test items should include as distractors those forms which the student would be most apt to construct if he has improperly understood the principle being tested. Reason would seem to indicate that less harm would be done by letting the student read a nonexistent form for less than five seconds than would be done by allowing him to write a nonexistent form, an activity which may engage his attention for thirty seconds. Yet we are told that we must not use such items in a test. I would be very interested in seeing some hard data on the amount of damange caused by exposing the student to incorrect or nonexistent forms.

Many other questions in testing need careful, controlled study. Do we really need four or five choices on a multiple choice exam, or are three enough? How many items are necessary to measure adequately the command of a concept or construction? Are different levels of mastery needed in different languages, or is there a minimal level which applies to any language? Should we perhaps offer alternative modes of testing to accomodate differences in learning styles of individual students? Questions such as these go to the very heart of evaluation. Until research is begun on such questions, evaluation seems doomed to remain the captive of a quaint folklore.

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD PUBLISHERS' TESTS

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Since the latter half of the 1960's, commercial publishers have customarily issued a series of classroom tests to accompany their textbook materials. I have found the reaction to these to be mostly favorable among those who use them, especially during the first couple of years and so long as the students perform fairly well. Yet, a look at the supplementary tests published by such companies as Holt, Rinehart, and Winston; Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich; Macmillan; Rand McNally; Houghton-Mifflin; and McGraw-Hill, shows considerable differences in style and format. Some are limited to objective type items which can be easily scored. Others contain non-objective items almost exclusively. Some tests only assess reading and writing, while others assess listening, reading, and writing, and some assess all four skills. Some tests contain only twenty items while others contain sixty or more.

When a publisher develops a new series of materials, perhaps the major question it faces is one of finances. Given an unlimited sales potential, it could develop supplementary materials of all kinds. But, in today's strongly competitive market, editors know that enrollments are down and that money for the purchase of materials is limited. As a result they must make early, but critical, decisions as to which ancillary materials are essential to the sale of a text. In short, the publisher is frequently faced with a dilemma: teachers request that all kinds of materials be developed, but frequently do not purchase them if they are. Examples of such supplementary materials include manuals, special teaching editions of a text, vocabulary cards, workbooks, individualized study guides, transparencies, filmstrips, dialog posters, 16 mm. films, separate readers, reel-to-reel tapes, cassette tapes, and unit tests.

In order to resolve this problem, at least one publisher--Holt, Rinehart, and Winston--conducted a scientific survey of the foreign language teaching population. In the spring of 1974, the author chaired a team which developed a 125 item teacher questionnaire concerning high school foreign language materials. Other members of the committee included: Mary Sexton, a teacher of French at Ranum High School, Denver; Dr. Arno Preller, Professor of German at Colorado State University, Fort Collins; and Roy Gabriel, a doctoral candidate in educational research at the University of Colorado, Boulder. The committee met all day for five consecutive Saturdays in order to develop its survey instrument. The questionnaire was pretested on ten foreign language teachers at different schools in the Denver area. A committee member was present to answer any questions or clarify any matters which seemed unclear, after which the member took notes on the problem for discussion at the final meeting. Following some brief revisions and a second pretesting on three more teachers, the instrument was printed by the publisher and mailed to 3,500 secondary school department chairmen throughout the country on April 19, 1974. A business reply envelope, separate mark-sense answer sheet, and number two soft-lead pencil were also included in the packet.

Of the 3,500 questionnaires sent, 1,424 were returned to the publisher. The data were then tallied by computer and the results displayed on a printout. Although the main corpus of the results must remain confidential, I can report to you on the responses to the seven questions concerning supplementary tests.

Results

Perhaps most surprising to testing specialists and publishers alike is the finding that two-thirds of the teachers claim never to use any tests they have not themselves prepared. In response to the question "How frequently do you prepare your own tests?", 67% marked always, 28% sometimes, 2% rarely, and 1% never. The reliability of this response is corroborated by another item of the questionnaire which asks teachers to rank in order of importance the following supplementary materials: tapes, workbook, guide to individualization, teachers' manual, and tests. On this item, tests were ranked fourth, followed by the guide to individualization. Additional corroboration is found in a later item which asked the teachers to rank the same publishers' materials in frequency of use. Here again, the same order prevailed. Interestingly enough, only 50% of the German teachers responded always to this question. I have no satisfactory explanation to offer for this discrepancy; however, German teachers do seem more likely to make use of publishers' tests than teachers of French or Spanish.

Another item which might illuminate this matter asks the question "How essential to a series do you consider publishers' supplementary tests to be?" The answer-options were very essential, somewhat essential, not essential, and I would not use them. While the modal response for all languages was somewhat essential, 28% of the German teachers responded very essential as compared to 19% of the French and Spanish teachers.

For the past fifty years, authors of textbooks on testing have been promoting the "new type" or objective test item, which can be easily and reliably scored. One advantage of such tests when applied to foreign languages is that they do not require students to waste time rewriting entire sentences when the instructor is only interested in testing a particular learning problem. The objective test enables the teacher to give the student a greater number of items in the same amount of time, which, of course, acts favorably on the question of content validity.[1]

Despite the prestigious position in American education occupied by objective tests, and their apparent advantages, the foreign language department chairmen surveyed rejected them overwhelmingly. In response to a question on the nature of publishers' tests ("Should publishers' tests be based on true-false and multiple choice items?"), 84% responded *no*, 6% *yes*, and 8% had no opinion. Again, German teachers were the most decidedly opposed to such tests, with only 4% responding *yes*, and 88% responding *no*.

The question of test length is an interesting one. Teachers often complain that publishers' tests are too long and take too much time to administer. Since World War II, the concept of the short quiz has become established. Actually the distinction of test versus quiz existed previously, but under the guise of examination versus test.[2] At any rate, during the past decades the education profession has moved toward shorter, more frequent learning assessments. Psychologists claim that this practice is beneficial since frequent quizzes tend to reduce test anxiety.

Nevertheless, the results of the survey seem to indicate a preference for lengthy tests. When asked to choose the optimum length for a publisher's test (20, 30, 40, or 50 minutes), the modal response was 40, which was preferred by 46% of the group. Here again German teachers differed from their colleagues in that their second preference was for 50 minute tests, whereas Spanish and French teachers preferred 30 minute over 50 minute tests by a two-to-one margin. This difference of opinion disappears however on the subject of final exams. Here, approximately half of all teachers clearly preferred a two-hour exam, over others of one hour or three hours in length. Ten percent of the teachers said they would not give a final examination.

Conclusions

Apparently, the availability of supplementary tests is not a major factor among foreign language department chairmen in the selection of a textbook, since two-thirds do not even use them. Moreover, the ease and rapidity with which a multiple choice test can be graded appears to offer little attraction to teachers. Rather, they would prefer to construct their own tests; these are generally lengthy, nearly a full period long, and involve a more complete display of language competence than the multiple choice test offers. Apparently, foreign language teachers were never really attracted by the idea of testing a single linguistic problem objectively as described in Lado and Valette,[3] but they are common users of a more integrative approach to language assessment. Teachers probably prefer to give their own test, rather than one constructed by someone else. Frankly, I doubt that the teacher-made test is better than the publisher's test in reliability and validity--and it is probably often limited to the writing skill alone. When teacher-made speaking tests are used, Kalivoda has found them to be lacking in real communicative activity.[4] The tape recorded listening tests accompanying publishers' materials are generally an enjoyable activity for students. Yet, perhaps these have been discarded due to the ambiguous pictures frequently used as a stimulus.[5] Again, it is doubtful that many teachers design their own listening tests except for the dictation.

The attitudes of German teachers merit further consideration. While they tend to use publisher's tests with greater frequency, at the same time they react more negatively to purely objective measures. Perhaps German teachers are more united in their reservations about discrete-point tests, but still feel that publishers' tests offer certain advantages which they cannot easily duplicate, i.e., structured tests of listening, speaking, and reading. In this same vein, their preference for longer tests would seem to be an indication of a more thorough approach to assessment than that exhibited by teachers of other languages.

Since the size of the sample indicates the probable validity of the data, this study poses several questions. At this point, research needs to be conducted on the type of test items most teachers prefer, and whether or not they are concerned with testing the four skills or even two of them.[6] If the results prove negative, and I suspect they might, teacher trainers must return to this problem with renewed vigor. In the final analysis, a test of only one skill is seriously lacking in validity, the most important concern of all.

Notes

[1] Julian C. Stanley & Kenneth Hopkins, *Educational and Psychological Measurement and Evaluation* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1972), pp. 102-04.

[2] A. E. G. Pilliner, "Subjective and Objective Testing," *Language Testing Symposium: A Psycholinguistic Approach*, ed. Alan Davies (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 19-45.

[3] Robert Lado, *Language Testing* (London: Longmans, Green, 1961); Rebecca Valette, *Modern Language Testing: A Handbook* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1967).

[4] Theodore B. Kalivoda, "Oral Testing in Secondary Schools," *Modern Language Journal*, 54 (1970), pp. 328-30.

[5] For a discussion of the problems often posed by pictorial stimuli see, John L. D. Clark, Foreign Language Testing: Theory and Practice (Philadelphia: Center for Curriculum Development, 1972), p. 52. Clark also presents an interesting and generally favorable treatment of what he terms "textbook-related" tests on pages 148-53.

[6] In a more general survey study of elementary and secondary school teacher attitudes, Goslin found that while teachers prefer to use objective items, they also simultaneously employ essay and short essay questions with considerable frequency. See David A. Goslin, Teachers and Testing (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967), pp. 122-25.

SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF ERROR ANALYSIS AND TRANSITIONAL COMPETENCE

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The use of error analysis techniques in the study of transitional competence is justified by the fact that many of the errors made by learners of foreign languages follow regular patterns for each individual target language considered. This regularity is so great that many researchers are convinced that errors do not happen haphazardly, but rather are the expectable product of the learner's very special linguistic system. In Corder's view, the learner makes errors on the basis of an internalized system of rules. This view of rule-governed performance makes it possible for us to attempt a description of the learner's transitional competence in terms of theoretical models similar to those used in the description of any natural language.[1]

As he tries to internalize a foreign language, the learner, operating both consciously and unconsciously, puts together a system of rules which enable him to generate sentences in the target language. The primary source of these rules is provided by the target language data with which he is presented, that is, linguistic material received from his models, such as teachers or other speakers with whom he comes into contact. Depending on the circumstances, some of this material may come to the learner already analyzed in terms of pedagogical rules which he incorporates, wholly or partially, into his own system.

Transitional competence contains also a variety of rules generated by the learner himself, which may be borrowed from his mother tongue, or from any other languages he may happen to know. Such rules reflect, to a large extent, his own perception of target language phenomena, and they may or may not be accurate interpretations of the latter. Finally, they may include rules organized on the basis of what his innate language capacity tells him the grammar of a language should be like. The resulting system may be seen as a set of operational hypotheses that enable the learner both to produce and interpret sentences and to analyze further data encountered in his contacts with the target language.

Since many of these hypotheses are descriptively inadequate, their use results in errors, the systematic analysis of which makes it possible to establish, even if only partially, the format and the *modus operandi* of the rules of transitional competence.[2] The word systematic is crucial, for we are interested in recurring errors which may be attributed to describable rules, the only defect of which is not belonging in the target language system. Casual mistakes caused by slips of the tongue, poor memory, and similar factors are therefore excluded from consideration--although this does not mean that they should always be disregarded by foreign language teachers.[3]

Most error analysis projects so far have been based on materials produced by elementary and intermediate learners, among other reasons, because it is crucial to capture the essential characteristics of transitional competence in its inceptive stages. There are several reasons, however, for extending our research to the transitional competence of advanced learners as well. From a theoretical point of view, such research would continue work carried out at lower levels, and thus it would provide elements for a broader and more detailed picture. Another reason is that foreign language learning processes may be clarified by the study of linguistic fossilization, a situation in which, as described by Selinker,[4] inadequate rules seem to become so solidly ingrained in the learners' system that, in spite of all correction that may be offered him, he goes on making the same mistakes indefinitely. This situation appears very consistently in the language of advanced learners, as does a similar phenomenon, which I would call, for lack of a better term, partial fossilization. This situation is one in which an adequate rule or set of rules seems to coexist with an erroneous counterpart of itself, and the result is an apparently erratic alternation of correct forms and their incorrect counterparts. As regards pedagogical applications, research in the transitional competence of advanced learners would probably contribute useful insights for designing refresher courses for teachers and other adult speakers of foreign languages.

The feasibility of analyzing learners' errors from an essentially semantic angle depends, to a large extent, on the researcher's willingness to accept a model of language in which the semantic component is independent from, rather than subordinate to, other components. Recent work in semantic theory indicates that such a model is not only theoretically possible but also desirable, because it enables the linguist to avoid much of the sterile debate that has unfortunately been present in semantic studies for the last ten years or so. One such model has been proposed by the British linguist, Geoffrey Leech,[5] in which language is seen as consisting of three independent components, namely a *phonological* one, a *syntactical* one, and a *semantic* one. In this view, the semantic and the syntactic components are related by means of "expression rules which would have the function of translating (or 'recoding') semantic representations as syntactic representations, or vice versa."[6] The advantage of adopting such a model is apparent, for whereas in a syntax-based description errors in the area of meaning must ultimately be accounted for in terms of syntactical rules and features, no such restrictions hold in the approach followed here.

The internalization of the semantic component of a target language is to a large extent a matter of learning to conceptualize in terms of new arrangements of semantic features. One of the consequences of this process is the ability to use lexical items--both individual words and idioms of phrase and sentence length--of the target language in the same way its native speakers use them. This is not tantamount to saying, of course, that meaning begins and ends with lexical items; however, there is an indication that the learner's ability to organize conceptual structures in the target language usually goes hand in hand with the expansion of his lexical repertory. I believe this view is supported by the findings of Leech, who points out that new vocabulary items are created as a means "to condense into a single word the same meaning that would otherwise be expressed by a whole phrase or sentence."[7] It is possible, I think, to draw a parallel between the process of word creation by native speakers of a language and the process by which the learner of a foreign language incorporates new vocabulary into his lexicon. His task, however, is made difficult by the lack of one-to-one correspondence between the elements that make up the two semantic systems, that is, that of the target language and the learner's own, at all levels of meaning.[8]

Another source of difficulties is that, except in highly controlled learning situations, the expressional needs of the learners, even advanced ones, usually exceed their expressional capability, which is limited by the gaps inherent in its own transitional nature. Those gaps tend, then, to be filled with semantic material--conceptual, associative, and thematic meaning, that is--borrowed from the learner's native semantic system.

My current research on the transitional competence of advanced learners is based on the analysis of errors found in materials produced by advanced students of Spanish, and the data for this paper were extracted from a set of sixty-one papers written a few years ago by fourteen first-year graduate students, all of them native speakers of American English who had majored in Spanish from colleges and universities in the United States. Of the fourteen, ten had spent some time, varying from a few weeks to one year, in Spanish-speaking countries.

Those papers included two tasks done in class, namely a two-page questionnaire on career goals and a final exam, as well as three essays written outside of class. Since plenty of time was allowed in every case for proofreading and correction, and since all papers were written in fulfillment of course requirements, there is reason to believe that these materials were representative of the students' best performance, and that they are therefore valid as a source of data.

Since my main interest was in obtaining insights about semantic aspects of the students' transitional competence, all errors that might have been generated by carelessness and other accidental causes were disregarded. It should also be mentioned that there is nothing like an exhaustive list of error possibilities, in the area of semantics or in any other area, and that consequently the dividing line between the categories used here is often blurred. As regards the corpus, however, there seems to be justification for grouping the errors into the following, perhaps somewhat overlapping types.

1. False cognates are among the commonest errors made by foreign language learners, and the corpus bears witness to that. Some involve items normally taught in elementary courses, and their continued use probably represents an instance of partial or total fossilization. Examples range from nouns such as *papeles* used in the sense of "Term papers," to adjectives such as *clases efectivas* for "effective classes," and *vida actual* for "actual life." There are also more sophisticated types of errors, such as may be exemplified by the sentence *El estudiante errante repetía la frase corregida*. Here it is clear that the learner was aware of the pattern Noun + Adj_{-nte}, in which the second element is historically a present participle. Compare, for instance, the phrases *los trabajadores cesantes* "the laid-off workers," *los soldados obedientes* "the obedient soldiers," etc. The error, however, derives from ignorance of the actual concept expressed by the word *errante*, which is "nomadic, roving, wandering," rather than "mistake-making."

2. Loan translations are also quite common, which is not surprising, since they represent a widespread process of vocabulary expansion found in all languages. It is a very productive process for the expression of technical and semi-technical concepts, as evidenced by the expressions *institución bajo-graduada* for "undergraduate institution," *ítemes de vocabulario* for "vocabulary items," and so on. At least one of the examples also occurs in the speech of Spanish-speaking Americans: *hacer su mejor*, "to do one's best." Occasionally, this process may be carried too far for intelligibility, as in the sentence *Las oraciones no están diseñadas para la memorización*, intended to mean "the sentences (in a textbook dialogue) are not designed for memorization."

3. There are also many cases of items which do not fit the context, and the use of which probably results from inadequate choice among several translational possibilities. The classical misuse of *preguntar* "to ask a question" for pedir "to request" occurs several times, as in *Si el estudiante tiene que preguntar por muchas repeticiones*, intended to mean "if the student has to request many repetitions." Other examples include the use of *efectuar* instead of *lograr*, or *alcanzar*, or *llegar a*, etc., in the sense of "to reach a goal," in the phrase *efectuar dicho objectivo*, and the use of *prohibir* instead of *impedir*, as in the sentence *los sonidos que los alumnos dicen mal y que prohiben la comprensión* that is, "sounds that the students pronounce poorly and that prevent comprehension."

4. In the areas of connotative and stylistic meaning there were also found several errors which quite distorted the intended messages, as in expressions such as *el contenido de la contestación* (instead

of *el contenido de la respuesta*,"the content of the answer") and *deseo mejorar mi sabiduría de los aspectos lingüísticos* (instead of *mis conocimientos* "my knowledge"). Errors like these sometimes produce unintended humour, as in *este tipo de análisis da a luz problemas así*, literally "this type of analysis gives birth to problems like that," and *para que los estudiantes puedan procrear sus propias oraciones*, literally "so that the students may procreate their own sentences."

5. The occurrence of inexistent words, created *ad hoc* on the basis of either native tongue or target language patterns, usually reveals two types of problems, namely imperfect command of word formation processes and gaps in the transitional semantic system. Note, among others, examples like *voluntaron* (cf. volunteered) instead of *se presentaron como voluntarios*; *enseñanza bilingual* (cf. bilingual education) instead of *enseñanza bilingüe*; *correctitude* for *corrección* "correctness"; *asignamiento* instead of *asignación* "homework"; and *ejercicio de placemente* (cf. placement exercise) for *ejercicio de clasificación*.

Conclusions: although the analysis of a small corpus is too limited to produce much specific information, it does enable us to draw a few general conclusions about semantic aspects of the transitional competence of the graduate students who produced these errors. It is apparent that, although these students have internalized a large number of the semantic rules of Spanish, their command of vocabulary is not entirely accurate where individual semantic features, lexical items, and idioms are concerned. The difficulties created by the gaps in their conceptual world are circumvented, not always felicitously, in a variety of ways--by expressing a concept in a roundabout manner when a single word or phrase would suffice, by using a direct translation that would probably not be understood by most native speakers of the target language, or by creating a term which does not even exist in either language. Taken individually, these errors are of course easily corrected, but what actually matters, from a pedagogical point of view, are the processes which generate the errors, and which seem to resist being controlled or checked by the instructor. After all, these processes are part and parcel of the learners' competence, and, transitional as they may be, they tend to remain in operation until replaced by something more in keeping with target language structures.

If these students are representative of a certain class of advanced learners--and whether or not this is the case may only be determined on the basis of extensive research--one cannot help feeling somewhat disturbed by the persistence of errors of a rather elementary nature, particularly when one considers that these people are also graduate teaching assistants. If research in the transitional competence of advanced learners can also yield some information about the linguistic problems of those people in charge of teaching foreign languages to a large number of undergraduate students in this country, then the current interest in error analysis will be fully justified.

Notes

[1] S. Pit Corder, "The Language of Second-Language Learners: The Broader Issues," *Modern Language Journal*, 59 (1975), pp. 409-13.

[2] For further information on error analysis and transitional competence, consult S. Pit Corder, "The Significance of Learners' Errors," *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 5 (1967), pp. 161-70, and "Idiosyncratic Dialects and Error Analysis," *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 9 (1971), pp. 147-60; Victor E. Hanzeli, "Learner's Language: Implications of Recent Research for Foreign Language Instruction," *Modern Language Journal*, 59 (1975), pp. 426-32; William Nemser, "Approximative Systems of Foreign Language Learners," *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 9 (1971), pp. 115-23; Larry Selinker, "Interlanguage," *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 10 (1972), pp. 209-31.

[3] On the distinction between errors and casual mistakes, see Corder. "The Significance . . . ."

[4] Selinker, "Interlanguage."

[5] Geoffrey Leech, *Semantics* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Engl.: Penguin, 1974).

[6] Leech, pp. 333-34.

[7] Leech, p. 36.

[8] See Leech, *op. cit.*, Ch. 2, "Seven Types of Meaning."

EVIDENCE FOR A GENERAL LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY FACTOR: AN EXPECTANCY GRAMMAR

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Two kinds of empirical data strongly suggest the possibility that all language skills are based on a rather unitary proficiency factor or internalized grammar. The two sources of data are methodologically independent. First are the data related to the properties of language tests viewed as measures of different modes of processing of verbal materials. Second are the data which learners themselves generate when performing language based tasks such as reading aloud, speaking spontaneously, translating, repeating, etc.

Linguistic and psycholinguistic theory provides a third source of evidence. This last source suggests fruitful ways of examining empirical facts of tests and learner output. This paper briefly refers to findings of researchers investigating both types of data and presents material from several factor analytic studies strongly supporting the notion that a general language proficiency factor exists among learners of English as a second language.

At about the turn of the century, Charles Spearman, the inventor of factor analytic techniques in statistics, suggested the possibility of a general factor of intelligence and produced considerable empirical evidence in favor of such a factor. In 1927 he modified his basic hypothesis slightly and produced a series of ingenious mathematical proofs for certain claims related to his general factor theory. He argued that the method he had hit upon "laid down the criterion needed in order to decide whether or not every ability in any given set can be divided into two factors *g* and *s* (*g* remaining throughout the same, whilst *s* varies both independently of *g* and of the other *s*'s)." Further he argued, "no other rigorous criterion than that demonstrated here (including mere equivalent conversions of it) has ever been proved or *ever can be*."[1] The rigorous criterion to which Spearman referred was simply a method of testing for a general factor underlying the correlations between any given set of scores on tests of mental ability.

According to Nunnally, Spearman's general factor theory received little attention from about 1937 on; but, Nunnally said, "now that more consideration is being given to factor analysis as a method for testing theories about constructs, the general-factor solution may again become useful."[2] Nunnally suggests some simple ways of checking for a general factor on the basis of factor loadings and simple correlation matrices.

Since at least 1971, I have been interested in the possibility of finding a powerful statistical method to determine if a variety of language tests in different sensory modes and receptive/productive modalities are not, in fact, underlaid by a general factor of language proficiency--one which could be explained on independent theoretical grounds. I proposed the term *expectancy grammar* as a convenient label for the psychologically real internalized grammar of normal language learners in general, and second language learners in particular.[3]

In language testing research, the hypothesis of a general language proficiency factor was certainly not new. Spolsky argued that certain types of language tests may tap linguistic competence. In particular he claimed that global proficiency tests which assess the learner's ability to utilize grammatical reduncancies in response to novel verbal sequences were essentially measures of *linguistic competence* rather than writing ability, reading comprehension, speaking ability, listening skill, and the like. He also suggested that tests of so-called *active* and *passive* skills were not essentially different.[4]

Spearman's *general factor solution* and slight modifications on it proposed by Nunnally provide a useful method to test for a general factor of language proficiency. Before discussing actual empirical results, however, we should review briefly the theoretical claims in favor of a rather unitary linguistic competence (*expectancy grammar*, if one will) underlying all of the normal uses of language.

Ever since the concept of analysis-by-synthesis was popularized in the 1950s, the possibility that productive and receptive skills might be closely interrelated has seemed quite plausible. The analysis-by-synthesis theories argued that speech perception and receptive language skills in general were fundamentally related to the language user's ability to generate a match for an incoming signal. We can hypothesize that the language user analyzes an incoming signal by internally synthesizing it. More recently has come the suggestion that productive skills may be similarly related to receptive ones. Clearly, the production of a meaningful sequence of elements in a language is guided by a plan, or intent to communicate, such that the output is monitored to see if it matches the intended meaning.

When productive and receptive processes are viewed in this way, it becomes quite clear that they must be very closely interrelated. A person speaking or writing is planning what to say next and monitoring the output to see whether or not it matches the intended meaning. A person listening or reading on the other hand is constantly generating hypotheses about what will come next in the sequence in terms of what the writer or speaker is intending to say. These hypotheses of the receiver are quite analogous to the plans of the sender. If the speaker's plans coincide with the hypotheses of the listener, communication is effective. If they fail to match well, communication breaks down. In both cases the planning ahead or the hypothesizing what will come next can be conceptualized in terms of grammar-based expectancies. These expectancies enable the language user to process elements of a language at such phenomenally rapid rates. Another valid parallel between receptive and productive processes, when viewed in terms of the sort of model we are considering here, is the fact that both are creative processes. The speaker often says things that are surprising not only to the listener but to himself. Similarly, a receiver may discover new ways of expressing himself in the language simply on the basis of exposure to someone else's verbal output. Thus, subtle modifications in the internalized grammar of the language user may be effected by either receptive or productive use of language.

At the Eighth Annual TESOL Convention held in Denver, Colorado in 1974, several researchers reported on procedures for eliciting interlanguage data. Those procedures can be viewed as language tests. An interesting finding in which several researchers seemed to concur was that very different elicitation procedures tend to yield similar results in terms of learner outputs. For instance, in a report that dealt with translation and imitation as elicitation devices, three scholars concluded that errors made by learners in spontaneous speech, in attempted repetitions, or in translations from one language to another were essentially similar in certain respects. That is, all three activities seemed to rely on the same underlying grammar.[5]

In another paradigm of research, Erdelyi reviewed results from studies of perceptual bias and perceptual defense.[6] He concluded that observed differences in learner responses could only be explained in terms of an executive control program in long term memory operating on inputs and outputs from short term memory. That control program, with respect to verbal processing, can hardly be other than an internalized grammar. Only such a grammar can explain the facilitating effect of contextual redundancies and the inhibiting effects of misleading contexts that create false expectancies. Not only is it easier for a perceiver to recognize a tachistoscopically presented lexical item in an appropriate context than the same item without context (or worse yet with an ungrammatical context), but the effect of meaning on the perceivability of verbal elements can be seen even at the phonetic level of processing. Oller and Eilers have demonstrated that *phonetic* transcriptions of child speech were *phonetically* more accurate when the transcribers knew what the children were trying to say than when they did not.[7]

With respect to language testing, if there exists an internalized grammar which governs all sorts of language use, there should be a relatively high correlation between diverse language tests; moreover, a simple principle-components-analysis (the first step in a certain type of factor analysis) should reveal one basic factor without iterations and without rotation. According to Nunnally, multiples of factor loadings on a general language proficiency factor should equal the actual simple correlations between the tests included in the analysis with a small margin of error. That is, the simple correlation between a vocabulary test and a reading test should equal the loading of the vocabulary test on a general factor times the loading of the reading test on the same factor. In fact, for any number of tests included in the analysis, the following equation should obtain within the limits of measurement error:

$r_{a,b} - L_a(L_b) = 0$ where *a* and *b* are different tests and *L* is the loading of *a* or *b* on a general language proficiency factor, *G* (i.e., L_a is the correlation of *G* with *a*, L_b is the correlation of *G* with *b*).

What is required, therefore, in order to test for a general language proficiency factor is a sample of data ranging over several tests; a factor analysis (principal components analysis) to extract one or more factors; a simple correlation matrix; computation of multiples of factor loadings to try to predict simple *r*'s; and, finally, a table of residual correlation coefficients computed by the equation given above.

All of the foregoing data were actually computed for four populations of subjects and two forms of the *UCLA English as a Second Language Placement Examination*. The first form, *UCLA ESLPE(1)*, consisted of five parts: a composition on one of three topics about two hundred words long; a vocabulary test requiring synonym matching; a grammar test requiring the selection of the only acceptable sentence from a field of three; a phonological discrimination task for minimal pairs; and finally, a two hundred word dictation in two parts.[8] One hundred and sixty-four incoming foreign students at UCLA were tested.

Table I shows the results of a principal components analysis--only *one* general factor with an eigenvalue greater than 1.00 was extracted.[9] Without iterations and without rotation it accounted for 74.4 percent of the total variance. Table II gives the actual matrix of correlations between the various subtests and Table III gives the residual matrix resulting from the application of the equation given earlier for predicting simple correlations on the basis of loadings on G. Table I reveals clearly that all of the subparts are highly intercorrelated as the hypothesis of a general language proficiency factor would predict. Moreover, the factor analysis shown in Table II shows that exactly one major principal component exists in the data. Finally, from Table III we note that indeed the multiples of factor loadings on G are very good predictors of the simple correlations shown in Table II, leaving an average residual of only -.04. Thus, the hypothesis of a general language proficiency factor is very strongly sustained.

Three additional sets of data are shown in Tables IV-XII. The latter are from a total of 376 university foreign students tested on the *UCLA ESLPE 2A Revised*.[10] This test consisted of five different subparts: 1) a 40-item vocabulary synonym matching task; 2) a grammar test with 20 items requiring the unscrambling of word orders and 20 items requiring the selection of an appropriate word, phrase, or clause to fill a blank; 3) a reading section involving 25 paraphrase items and 15 items that required the recognition of the central idea of a given paragraph; 4) a 100-word dictation; and 5) a 50-blank cloze test. The cloze test portion varied (in topic and difficulty level) for each of the three populations tested.

Tables IV-VI report data from 129 subjects tested on a cloze test based on material from a reader suitable for the early elementary grades and the other four parts of the *UCLA ESLPE 2A Revised*. The results are quite parallel to the findings reported in Tables I-III for the *UCLA ESLPE1*. Again we note strong evidence for a general language proficiency factor, which accounts for 73.1 percent of the total variance as shown in Table IV. The average residual in Table VI is only -.06.

Tables VII-IX report data from another group of subjects (N = 128) also tested on the *UCLA ESLPE 2A Revised* and on a cloze test over material from a grammar text for ESL students at the college or university level. Again the results reveal a general language proficiency factor accounting for 75.7 percent of the total variance. The average residual in Table IX is only -.06 again.

A more difficult cloze test than already mentioned was used with another group of 119 foreign students entering UCLA. This last group also took the same four parts of the *UCLA ESLPE 2A Revised*. The hypothesis concerning a general language proficiency factor was supported again. The average residual was only -.05, and the single meaningful factor (that is, the only one with an eigenvalue greater than 1.00) accounts for 76.1 percent of the total variance in all of the subparts of the *UCLA ESLPE 2A Revised* plus the cloze test.[11]

In conclusion, in all four subject populations tested the hypothesis of a general factor of language proficiency is strongly sustained. Further research must assess the degree to which factor loadings of other tests of language skill in addition to the 12 different tasks investigated here can also be explained in terms of a psychologically real, internalized grammar underlying all normal uses of language. Moreover, further research into the nature of learner outputs needs to be conducted along the lines initiated by Swain, Dumas, and Naiman (see note 5) in order to test more specific hypotheses concerning the development of the internalized expectancy grammars of learners.

Notes

[1] Charles E. Spearman, "'General Intelligence' Objectivity Determined and Measured," *American Journal of Psychology*, 15 (1904), pp. 201-93; *The Abilities of Man* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), p. 137.

[2] J. C. Nunnally, *Psychometric Theory* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), p. 339.

[3] John W. Oller, "Expectancy for Successive Elements: Key Ingredient to Language Use," *Foreign Language Annals*, 7 (1974), pp. 443-52.

[4] B. Spolsky, "What Does It Mean to Know a Language, or How Do You Get Someone to Perform His Competence?" *Focus on the Learner*, ed. J. W. Oller & J. C. Richards (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1973), pp. 164-76.

[5] M. Swain, G. Dumas, and N. Naiman, "Alternatives to Spontaneous Speech: Elicited Translation an Imitation as Indicators of Second Language Competence," *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, 3 (1974), pp. 68-79.

[6] M. H. Erdelyi, "A New Look at the New Look: Perceptual Defense and Vigilance." *Psychological Review*, 81 (1974), pp. 1-25.

[7] D. K. Oller & R. E. Eilers, "Phonetic Expectation and Transcription Validity," *Phonetica*, 31 (1975), pp. 288-304.

[8] For a complete description of the tests see J. W. Oller & V. Streiff, "Dictation as a Test of Grammar Based Expectancies," forthcoming in *English Language Teaching*.

[9] See "Tables" at the end of this paper.

[10] For a description of the test and subject population see J. W. Oller, "Scoring Methods and Difficulty Levels for Cloze Tests of ESL Proficiency," *Modern Language Journal*, 56 (1972), pp. 151-58.

[11] The reader is referred to the author for the precise data.

Table I. Principal Components Analysis over the Subparts of the UCLA ESLPE 1 Showing a Single General Factor (Accounting for 74.4% of the Total Variance), N = 164.

Subparts	Loading on General Factor
1. Composition	.87
2. Vocabulary	.87
3. Grammar	.86
4. Phonology	.77
5. Dictation	.93

Table II. Simple Product Moment Correlation Matrix for the five Subparts of the UCLA ESLPE 1 (N = 164).

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Composition	1.00	.73	.66	.54	.79
2. Vocabulary	.73	1.00	.68	.59	.76
3. Grammar	.66	.68	1.00	.58	.79
4. Phonology	.54	.59	.58	1.00	.64
5. Dictation	.79	.76	.79	.64	1.00

Table III. Residuals from Correlations in Table II minus Multiples of Factor Loadings from Table I for Respective Subparts of the UCLA ESLPE 1 (N = 164).

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Composition	----	-.03	-.09	-.01	-.02
2. Vocabulary	-.03	----	-.07	-.08	-.04
3. Grammar	-.09	-.07	----	-.08	.00
4. Phonology	-.01	-.08	-.08	----	-.11
5. Dictation	-.02	-.04	-.00	-.11	----

Table IV. Principal Components Analysis over the Subparts of the UCLA ESLPE 2A Revised with an Easy Cloze Test Showing a Single General Factor (Accounting for 73.1% of the Total Variance), N = 129.

Subparts	Loading on General Factor
1. Vocabulary	.84
2. Grammar	.86
3. Reading	.84
4. Dictation	.89
5. Cloze Test (Easy)	.85

Table V. Simple Product Moment Correlation Matrix for the Subparts of the UCLA ESLPE 2A Revised and an Easy Cloze Test (N = 129).

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Vocabulary	1.00	.66	.68	.70	.55
2. Grammar	.66	1.00	.61	.70	.70
3. Reading	.68	.61	1.00	.68	.65
4. Dictation	.70	.70	.68	1.00	.73
5. Cloze Test (Easy)	.55	.70	.65	.73	1.00

Table VI. Residuals from Correlations in Table V minus Multiples of Factor Loadings from Table IV for Respective Subparts of the UCLA ESLPE 2A Revised and the Easy Cloze Test (N = 129).

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Vocabulary	----	-.06	-.03	-.05	-.16
2. Grammar	-.06	----	-.11	-.06	-.08
3. Reading	-.03	-.11	----	-.07	-.06
4. Dictation	-.05	-.06	-.07	----	-.03
5. Cloze Test (Easy)	-.16	-.08	-.06	-.03	----

Table VII. Principal Components Analysis over the Subparts of the UCLA ESLPE 2A Revised and a Medium Difficulty Cloze Test Showing a Single General Factor (Accounting for 75.7% of the Total Variance), N = 128.

Subparts	Loading on General Factor
1. Vocabulary	.88
2. Grammar	.85
3. Reading	.87
4. Dictation	.86
5. Cloze Test (Medium Difficulty)	.88

Table VIII. Simple Product Moment Correlation Matrix for the Subparts of the UCLA ESLPE 2A Revised and a Medium Difficulty Cloze Test (N = 128).

1. Vocabulary	1.00	.72	.76	.67	.69
2. Grammar	.72	1.00	.67	.64	.66
3. Reading	.76	.67	1.00	.66	.70
4. Dictation	.67	.64	.66	1.00	.78
5. Close Test (Medium Difficulty)	.69	.66	.70	.78	1.00

Table IX. Residuals from Correlations in Table VIII Minus Multiples of Factor Loadings from Table VII for Respective Subparts of the *UCLA ESLPE 2A Revised* and the Medium Difficulty Cloze Test (N = 128).

1.	Vocabulary	----	-.03	.00	-.09	-.09
2.	Grammar	-.03	----	-.07	-.09	-.09
3.	Reading	.00	-.07	----	-.09	-.07
4.	Dictation	-.09	-.09	-.09	----	.02
5.	Close Test (Medium Difficulty)	-.09	-.09	-.07	.02	----

A COMPREHENSIVE PLACEMENT TEST: A MODEL FOR CRITERION-REFERENCED PERFORMANCE TESTING

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During the past decade foreign language teaching has experienced a considerable change; noticeably a shift in emphasis towards what is generally referred to as communicative ability, i.e., the ability to speak and understand a foreign language. This change in foreign language teaching objectives has, however, not been fully reflected in the attendant area of testing. Foreign language tests are generally not designed to test the student's ability to communicate in the foreign language; at least not in a reliable, valid and feasible manner. Available tests (for example, College Level Examination Program [CLEP], ETS, and MLA tests) are primarily designed to measure the student's knowledge of grammar control items (or linguistic structures) rather than his rate and general fluency in the language he is studying; they test discrete-point items rather than integrative language skills. Communicative ability centers on the transmission and reception of information. Achievement tests measuring this ability must therefore attempt to assess the student's language skills in a global manner, reflecting acquisition of language skills rather than a mastery of grammatical structures and vocabulary. Since such tests also measure the learner's acquisition of the course content and his achievement in terms of the course's terminal objectives, they are often called proficiency tests. Achievement tests, however, should not be solely designed to test language proficiency but should include such other testing purposes as diagnosis and assessment.

A Foreign Language Placement test is such an achievement test, since it performs a diagnosis of the learner's level of achievement in the skill areas (listening, speaking and reading), assesses the effectiveness of teaching methods, and presents a taxonomy of the specific foreign language instructional program by testing the student's proficiency and placing him accordingly. The placement test should also serve as the model for all other course tests and should be identical with the final examination. Diagnosis, assessment, and placement (proficiency) present in a sense different but progressive elements along the course outline of an instructional program.

Few, if any, existing comprehensive language achievement tests accomplish this objective. This paper presents a description of an attempt to construct such a comprehensive achievement test and show its use within the framework of a specific instructional program.

Placement tests are widely used at the college level, where large groups of incoming students with different types and levels of preparation must be properly assigned to various language sequences. At the United States Air Force Academy we have a stable incoming population of about 1500 cadets each year. They are required to take one year of a foreign language as a graduation requirement. We use our placement test, developed in-house, to assign incoming students to basic, intermediate, or advanced language classes and to eliminate those whose proficiency, based on the test results, indicates that they have mastered the specific language skills and course content of our basic (one year) foreign language sequence. These students are then given validation credit. Students who have had at least one semester of high school language study must take the test. Those who do not validate the basic course requirement are placed into a three track basic course system, consisting of an Elementary, Accelerated, and Advanced track, each requiring a different level of prior language achievement.

The track system provides us with a relatively uniform learner group composition in terms of prior knowledge/exposure to the target language and permits increased rationalization of the instructional process and of instructional materials. Students are assigned to the various tracks on the basis of their proficiency (achievement) shown on the placement test. The test incorporates all elements of our taxonomy of basic foreign language instruction and is keyed to our terminal performance objective; namely, communicative competence and the development of the appropriate language skills for this task (listening/reading comprehension and speech production).

The test is an integrative skills test, measuring the rate and general fluency of the student's knowledge of the language rather than a discrete-point items test of grammatical structure and vocabulary.[1] Discrete-point item tests cannot successfully measure the student's proficiency in a skill-oriented language program with communicative competence as its major performance objective.

The test is also a combination of power and speed measures; its total length is two hours. Each section of the test addresses a specific language skill, though never in isolation. The entire test is timed, since student recall, recognition, and production are tested by different testing modalities. Timing is of major importance in the production sections which account for fifty percent of the total test. It is a power test, since its main purpose is to assess accurately student language achievement and place them into one of the three basic tracks, according to their proficiency. The test sections (and all items within each section) are arranged in order of difficulty. To ascertain fully student proficiency, particularly in the production sections where spontaneity of response is prerequisite, timed responses and time limits have been instituted. To allow a student to answer the oral production question or questions on the reading comprehension section without proper time constraints would negate the basic purpose of the test.

The content validity of the test, which serves as a basic model for all other tests in our instructional program, is based on the terminal performance objectives of our basic language courses. These stress communicative ability in the spoken language with a controlled lexis inventory and its application to the skills of listening/reading comprehension and speech production. The vocabulary is not tied to a specific language text. Although we use commercial textbooks, we supplement these extensively with our own oral and audio exercises, dialogues, and reading selections. This supplementation is necessary, since the amount of linguistic structures taught in the basic courses is limited to those considered most applicable to spoken communication. These selected structures are then taught for either active production or passive recognition. We have discarded what one could term the encyclopedic approach to the teaching of grammar (the complete inventory of grammatical structures found in most textbooks), since language learners should view language as meaningful rather than mechanical. Emphasis on learning grammar rules and their manipulation has little application to skill development or language competence. Real life language use is not so much dependent on grammar competence (accuracy of pronunciation, range of vocabulary, accuracy and extent of grammatical control), but on the ability to transmit and receive messages. Language learning activities must focus on meaning, not rules! As Wilga Rivers so aptly puts it: "The object is to get from linguistic competence to communicative competence, from skill-getting to skill using."[2]

Construct validity of the test, therefore, emphasizes communicative competence, to include both listening and reading comprehension (as natural reinforcers of speech production and grammatical structures). Contrastive analysis and error analysis also form an integral part of the test construction process since we believe strongly that certain learners' errors will continue to persist because of inter- and/or intra-language interference in an introductory basic foreign language course. Examples in point are the German case system or the differences in the use of the auxiliary verbs in French, German, and Spanish. Continuous development and reinforcement of language skills through appropriate listening and reading comprehension exercises, can (and do), in our opinion, help to reduce these errors. Students learn to use and apply rules of grammar through natural and creative language in a cognitive and lasting manner.

The test consists of nine sections (see Table 1). Each section tests different skills, first on the level of recall then on the level of recognition/selection. Discrete point item testing occurs only in the two grammar sections which consist of grammar control (structural) items. Vocabulary is not tested specifically, but is embedded in all test sections, since the accumulation of a large vocabulary inventory is of lesser importance for the beginning language learner and consists, in most cases, of passive rather than active knowledge. The grammar sections test only those linguistic concepts which we consider essential for active communication. For example, the subjunctive mood and the passive voice are considered purely as receptive (recognition) functions; the student needs to recognize but not necessarily be able to use these, since he can transcribe or paraphrase their intent and function with the active voice form. Similarly, other less frequently used grammatical structures (in the spoken language) are relegated to passive recognition rather than active usage in our teaching/testing process. Space permits me neither to describe the test itself in detail nor to discuss the specific formulation of our objectives for each of the test sections.

Students are placed into the various basic course sequences according to the following score criteria: Elementary Basic track (scores of 25% or less); Accelerated Basic track (scores between 25% and 50%); Advanced Basic track (scores between 50% and 70%); Validation: (scores of 70% or higher).[3]

Since the test is also diagnostic in nature, it allows us to ascertain and evaluate student weaknesses and place those with similar levels of proficiency into the appropriate course sequence. This practice provides us with fairly homogeneous groups in terms of student abilities in each course and facilitates the establishment of criterion-referenced performance objectives for each of these courses.

The primary achievement objective for students in all basic courses is to achieve a score of 70% on the end-of-course examination, which in content and construction is similar to the placement examination. In most instances this score is accomplished. Advanced track students, of course, do score well above 70%, particularly on the production sections of the test, but many students in the two lower tracks also achieve scores well above 70%. That others do not is probably a result of individual student learning styles and attitudes and also the fact that some students turn out to be better listeners, readers, or speakers than others. Another factor to be considered is the extent to which students have been exposed to other teaching methodologies before coming to the Academy.

In July 1975 we gave the test to 1250 incoming students, all of whom had previous language exposure in the languages we teach.[4] We expect the placement test to provide us with a breakdown, which validates 10% of the group, places 25% into the advanced basic course, 45% into the accelerated basic course and 20% into the elementary basic course. This varies, however, from year to year and in 1975 we had a ± 5% variation between the advanced and accelerated tracks (see Table 2). The mean scores for each language reflected in Table 3 show a high degree of overall congruity in test scores for all three basic tracks. There are, however, greater disparities among the three languages when one compares the production section scores (requiring student originated responses) and the IBM section (consisting of multiple choice responses, requiring only recognition knowledge).[5] These may be due, in part, to the varied emphasis placed on grammatical structures or language skills development in the student's previous language courses (high school) and/or the emphasis given to either aspect by teachers of the different languages.[6]

The placement test serves as an assessment tool for our entire foreign language teaching taxonomy and it is given in a structurally similar version as the end-of-course examination in all basic track courses. The results to date support our belief that the test meets both the validity and the realiability criteria. The improvement in student achievement has been in consonance with pre-established performance objectives. Students in the advanced basic track scored from 20% to 25% higher on the examination after the one semester (80 hour) course of instruction. In the various intermediate examinations (mid-term and end-of-semester exams), students in both the accelerated basic and elementary basic tracks showed similar improvements. The placement test thus serves its additional purpose as an evaluative (assessment) measure of our instructional process and program. All our foreign language tests from weekly/biweekly quizzes (20 minutes) to midterms (50 minutes) and end semester examinations (2 hours plus), follow the format of the placement test and incorporate its testing methodology. We use, however, more sophisticated testing methods on these progress tests. Students are required to produce oral rather than written responses in the production sections since these tests are administered to individual class sections (consisting of no more than 15 students) rather than the 1300 to 1500 students we must test each July as a group. We also employ such varied testing methods as modified cloze procedures, open-ended taped oral interviews, and student created dialogues. These methods cannot be used on the placement test because the incoming student usually is not familiar with them.

The placement test described does provide, in our opinion, a more meaningful test of communicative competence, in a more objective and standardized manner. It does test the active and creative use of language in a more global manner than most standard tests by reducing the amount (and emphasis) on discrete-point items testing of foreign language knowledge. In this sense it accomplishes the task of measuring communicative competence rather than mechanical skills. Furthermore, the test is for diagnosis and assessment, criterion rather than norm referenced, since it is not tied to a specific textbook but to a program of instruction. This prerequisite is most important for foreign language testing, since a distinct and causal relationship exists between the test situations and the instructional program. Students pay closest attention to those aspects of a course of instruction which are being tested. As Kenneth Chastain put it so well: ". . . the practical objectives of the course are set by the tests. No matter what the teacher states as the goals of the course, the students study for the test. The tests, then, in spite of all protestations to the contrary, determine what the students emphasize in their study."[7] Since our teaching goal is communicative competence, i.e., the learner's ability to communicate in the foreign language, the testing approach described does indeed fulfill this pedagogic prerequisite.

Any test situation and the instructional program it serves clearly depend on the particular institutional environment. Thus, what works or can work well in one place, will not function adequately in another. The testing methodology described can, however, be adopted and used with whatever modifications necessary as a model for criterion-referenced performance testing in any surroundings, provided the purpose of the foreign language course it serves is the achievement of communicative competence.

Notes

[1] On this point see John W. Oller, J., "Discrete-Point Testing Versus Tests of Integrative Skills," Focus on the Learner: Pragmatic Perspectives for the Language Teacher, ed. John W. Oller, Jr. and Jack Richards (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1973), pp. 184-99.

[2] Wilga M. Rivers, "From Linguistic Competence to Communicative Competence," TESOL Quarterly, 7 (1973), p. 25.

[3] Numerically the groups vary from year to year, but no attempt is made to compensate for under- or over-enrollment in any of the tracks in order to achieve more equal student distribution.

[4] Almost 90% of the group had studied one of the three major foreign languages: French, German, and Spanish. We should also note that the student population at the Air Force Academy comes from every one of the fifty states and represents a true national cross section.

[5] The Production Sections of the test are: Dictation, Aural Situations I and II, Dialogue Construction, Narrative Reproduction, and Grammar II (see also Table 1).

[6] Table 4 (Test Results by Section) further amplifies this point as wider ranging differences become apparent on the scores within each section when comparing the three languages.

[7] Kenneth Chastain, The Development of Modern Language Skills: Theory to Practice (Philadelphia: Center for Curriculum Development, 1971), p. 328.

Table 1.--Test Format*

Section		Time (Minutes)	Mode
I	Dictation	8	A/W
II	Aural Comprehension I (Dialogues)	10	W/MC
III	Reading Comprehension I	10	A/MC
IV	Aural Situations I	5	A/W
V	Grammar I	25	W/MC+W
VI	Dialogue Construction	10	W/W
VII	Grammar II	8	W/W+MC
VIII	Aural Situations II	6	A/W
IX	Aural Comprehension II (Narratives)	10	A/W
X	Reading Comprehension II	15	W/MC+W
XI	Narrative Reproductions	15	A/W
		122	

*(A: Aural; W: Written; MC: Multiple Choice)

Table 2.--1975 Placement Examination Results

Language and No. Tested	Validees	Advanced Basic	Accelerated Basic	Elementary Basic
French 337	48 (14.2%)	29 (29.0%)	143 (42.5%)	49 (14.5%)
German 324	18 (5.6%)	57 (17.7%)	166 (51.8%)	83 (25.7%)
Spanish 584	55 (9.4%)	105 (18.0%)	320 (54.8%)	104 (17.8%)
Total 1245	121 (10.1%)	259 (20.9%)	629 (49.9%)	236 (19.1%)

Table 3.--1975 Placement Examination Mean Scores

	Language	Total	IMB	PROD	Sem. previous H.S. language study
Validees (score: 70%+)	French	90.8	85.0	96.7	8.5
	German	75.2	71.2	79.2	8.1
	Spanish	80.0	80.2	79.8	7.2
Advanced Basic (score: 50-70%)	French	53.1	53.3	52.8	5.7
	German	52.9	47.6	57.7	6.0
	Spanish	53.0	52.5	53.0	5.6
Accelerated Basic (score: 25-50%)	French	33.1	46.0	26.2	3.9
	German	32.9	32.3	33.6	4.5
	Spanish	32.9	36.7	29.6	3.9
Elementary Basic (score: 25%-)	French	13.4	17.4	9.3	3.4
	German	18.8	23.6	14.1	3.4
	Spanish	19.0	27.4	10.4	3.2

Table 4.--Test Results by Sections*

		Dictation	Aural* Comp. I	Read.* Comp. I	Aural Sit. I	Grammar* I	Dialog Constr.	Grammar II	Aural Sit. II	Aural* Comp. II	Read.* Comp. II	Narr. Repro.
Valid.	F	85.3	62.3	77.5	93.9	71.1	92.1	70.7	87.1	67.4	61.4	73.1
	G	79.6	93.9	53.3	93.3	69.1	90.0	62.6	93.9	78.6	75.6	79.7
	S	85.4	94.0	87.0	98.6	73.0	83.2	56.8	90.0	89.4	89.0	68.9
Adv.	F	63.6	35.0	46.9	75.5	58.6	76.7	46.1	56.0	27.6	52.8	33.1
Basic	G	69.5	73.6	39.4	81.2	41.7	77.5	36.5	77.9	43.6	54.9	40.8
	S	70.5	71.0	70.0	87.2	42.0	66.6	20.5	54.6	38.7	66.0	46.5
Accel.	F	41.2	31.4	30.4	37.9	42.2	39.8	21.2	20.5	7.1	47.6	6.8
Basic	G	49.9	46.2	28.2	52.2	29.6	55.3	15.9	40.5	20.8	37.7	7.9
	S	53.1	47.0	56.0	52.8	30.0	44.6	10.5	17.2	6.4	41.0	13.6
Elem.	F	19.2	32.1	25.7	6.1	30.0	10.4	9.4	3.9	0.5	31.6	0.3
Basic	G	27.2	30.6	22.8	18.0	21.9	23.0	5.3	7.6	8.3	24.9	0.1
	S	22.3	33.0	48.0	20.9	21.0	12.6	4.5	2.7	0.4	27.0	1.8

*Sections marked with an asterisk are IBM sections; all others are production sections.

F: French; G: German; S: Spanish.

ASSESSING LANGUAGE DOMINANCE: IMPLICATIONS FOR INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAMS

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One generally assumes that when a child enters school he has acquired a spoken language and that one of the major tasks of the school is to teach him to read the language that he speaks. Until very recently, one also assumed that that language would in this country, perforce, be English. However, social changes in, and new immigrations to, this country have forced teachers to recognize that the latter assumption is unwarranted and that in all regions of the country, whether rural or urban, many children will come to school speaking another language as well as or better than they do English.

Until the passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968, little effort was made in the schools of the United States to maintain and to cultivate other languages which were spoken natively by the children. With encouragement from federal legislation, schools began to provide formal instruction, including reading, in the child's dominant language. Teachers, administrators, and the general public have come increasingly to accept the view that benefits can accrue, both to the individual and to society, from adhering to the principle that the best medium for initial instruction in formal learning is the mother tongue. A considerable amount of effort and a rather large amount of money from federal, state, and local sources have been expended to make schooling, initially at least, available in languages other than English. While we have made great strides in accepting and applying the principles of bilingual education, we may safely conclude that we are still woefully lacking in the number of bilingual programs that are needed and in the attainment of high quality instruction in those that do exist.

One could point to several reasons for the lack of a sufficient number of programs, and a variety of factors could be identified which influence the quality of current programs. Let us examine one of these essential, but complex, factors that must be considered when making decisions about initial formal schooling for bilingual children. I refer, of course, to the problem of assessing language dominance.

If we accept the principle that the best medium for initial instruction is that of the dominant language of the child, then our first task in designing a school program for him is that of identifying the language in which he is best prepared to receive formal instruction. On the surface, this would seem to be an easy matter.

Various means have been used to assess language dominance. Children have been assigned to non-English-language-medium programs (e.g. Spanish, Cantonese) on the basis of either 1) a language-related surname; or 2) a language background questionnaire; or 3) a subjective evaluation by an interviewer or teacher as to the ability of the child to converse in the target language; or 4) scores received on direct measures such as language proficiency tests; or 5) scores received on indirect measures such as word detection instruments or rating scales. Again, on the surface, it would seem that from the above list, reliable and valid means are available for assessing language dominance.

However, bilingualism is an extremely complex phenomenon, the exact nature of which is only partially understood. W. F. Mackey states: "If we have made any progress in the analysis of bilingualism over the past twenty years it has been in the recognition of bilingualism as a relative, complex, and multidimensional phenemenon, best described through quantitative methods."[1]

John Macnamara concurs that, ". . . proficiency in a language, and *a fortiori* in two languages, is not a single skill but rather a combination of numerous skills, so it is necessary to bear clearly in mind which skills one wishes to evaluate."[2] Ferguson, Gumperz, and Fishman point out that the functions of communication are not matched for the bilingual's two languages and that bilingual proficiency will show quite marked variation with topic, situation, etc.[3] Therefore, in any attempt to assess accurately the extent and degree of the child's bilingualism in order to arrive at a language dominance configuration, not only must we examine the difference in his global control of the listening and speaking skills in both languages, but a careful assessment must also be made of these same skills in numerous situations which deal with a variety of topics. If such a dominance configuration could be established, and if we could then determine which patterns within the configuration correlate with school-oriented learning and readiness to read in that language, then educators could proceed with confidence in planning appropriate school programs.

However, the best minds in the field have not as yet provided the educator with a dominance test, much less a model, that will produce such a dominance configuration. A few years ago, John Bordie reviewed tests used in some two hundred research reports having to do with language development and found little to commend with regard to their usefulness in assessing the language skills of the linguistically different learner.[4] Macnamara (see note 2), on the other hand, takes a more positive view as he reports on a study completed in Montreal, Canada. He compared the results obtained by "indirect" measures with those he obtained by "directly" measuring the capacity of one hundred fifty-eight bilingual sixth-grade students to communicate in a classroom setting where a formal style of language is used. Of the "indirect" measures used, those of self-rating (i.e., subject rates his own skills in each language on a rating scale) and speed of reading aloud produced data that proved to be the best predictors of the results obtained from the fifteen "direct" measures of competence in each of the two languages. The

"Language Background Questionnaire" provided the poorest predictive criteria. Macnamara concludes that in the investigation of a bilingual's relative capacity to learn through the medium of two languages, the degree of bilingualism may be determined by measuring, through direct means, those linguistic skills the student will use in the learning task (e.g. reading), or an appropriate combination of "indirect" measures may be used, with self-rating being the most satisfactory for those yet unable to read.

In view of Macnamara's findings, perhaps a modification of the self-rating technique would be useful in the appropriate placement of bilingual children in initial school instruction. Is it likely that, given the opportunity, five-year old bilingual children would effect their own self-rating? If we place a bilingual child in a classroom where listening, speaking, and reading activities are available in two languages, is it likely that he could and would choose to participate in those activities in the language that best matches his dominance configuration? Or might certain social factors, such as peer pressure, alter his choice?

Since Bordie's study in 1970, a few new tests have emerged which hold promise for assessing the language ability of bilingual children. Of the direct measures, one could point to the MAT-SEA-CAL Oral Proficiency Tests developed in the Seattle Public Schools. These are comparable tests in six languages (English, Spanish, Tagalog, Ilokano, Cantonese, and Mandarin) and were designed to provide school personnel with reliable data that can be interpreted in terms of language dominance, oral proficiency in English and the home language, and diagnostic analysis of the child's grammatical strengths and weaknesses. The tests have been extensively field-tested in the Pacific Northwest. Studies completed in Seattle[5] and more recently at the University of Idaho[6] offer evidence of the tests' reliability and validity in assessing oral language proficiency. This oral proficiency estimate and its accompanying diagnostic analysis can be utilized to gain insight into the child's language dominance as it relates to school tasks.

Recent judicial interpretations (Lau vs. Nichols) of federal legislation concerning the education of linguistically distinct pupil populations have far-reaching implications for school policies and practices. Federal guidelines make it eminently clear that language is the primary factor in determining what kinds of programs are to be implemented and which students are to be affected by such educational policies and practices. Adequate language assessment becomes, then, an extremely important factor in compliance with federal regulations as well as in providing the best possible educational experience for linguistically distinct children.

If we are to succeed in making this necessary and critically adequate assessment, then school personnel can no longer make the following assumptions: 1) that children with language-related surnames are necessarily able to speak, to some degree, the language associated with that name; 2) that children who come from communities and/or homes where some members speak a language other than English are, perforce, dominant in that language; 3) that a subjective evaluation by an interviewer can reveal all the intricacies of the dominance configuration; 4) that most "direct" measures alone can adequately sample the child's competence in two languages; and 5) that "indirect" measures can produce full insight into his dominance configuration. If we cannot make these assumptions, then we must look for better means of detecting the language in which the bilingual child can most easily and most efficiently learn in school.

Perhaps we need to make use of a variety of measures. A Language Background Questionnaire might serve as an initial screening device merely to identify students who may possibly be in need of an alternative school program. An "indirect" measure, such as a word detection instrument or self-rating technique could then be used for wide-mesh screening to determine language preference tendencies. Subjective evaluation by native-speaking school personnel could add further insight into the child's language abilities. But only with reliable "direct" measures can we develop a language profile which is comprehensive and exact, one which can pinpoint the child's strengths and weaknesses in both of his languages, which can shed light on his dominance configuration as it relates to school tasks, which can estimate the child's oral proficiency in each language, and which can offer specific guidance in planning and developing instructional programs.

Notes

[1] W. F. Machey, "How Can Bilingualism be Described and Measured?" Description and Measurement of Bilingualism: An International Seminar, ed. L. G. Kelly (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 4-5.

[2] John Macnamara, "How Can One Measure the Extent of a Person's Bilingual Proficiency?" Description and Measurement of Bilingualism: An International Seminar, ed. L. G. Kelly (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 80.

[3] Charles A. Ferguson, "Diglossia," Word, 15 (1959), pp. 325-40; John L. Gumperz, "Linguistic and Social Interaction in Two Communities," American Anthropologist, 66 (1964), pt. 2, pp. 137-53; Joshua A. Fishman, "Bilingualism with and without Diglossia; Diglossia with and without Bilingualism," Journal of Social Issues, 23 (1967), pp. 29-38.

[4] John C. Bordie, "Language Tests and Linguistically Different Learners: The Sad State of the Art," Elementary English, 47 (1970), pp. 814-28.

[5] Joseph H. Matluck and Betty Mace-Matluck, "The MAT-SEA-CAL Instruments for Assessing Language Proficiency." Paper presented at AERA annual meeting, San Francisco, 19-23 April 1976.

[6] Vincent Doyle, "An Empirical Investigation of the Reliability and Validity of an Oral Proficiency Test," Diss. Univ. of Idaho 1976; Brian L. Talbott, "The Relationship between Oral Proficiency and Achievement in a Bilingual-Bicultural Elementary School," Diss. Univ. of Idaho 1976.

AN ETHNIC'S VIEW OF ETHNICITY: THE YUGOSLAV EXPERIENCE

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One of the remarkable features of North American society is the variety of her ethnic, folkloristic, linguistic, and cultural patterns.[1] The problems of immigration and migration of various ethnic groups to and within Canada and the United States have been the subject of much research. We have, as Greeley would have us say, rediscovered diversity.[2] Suddenly, being ethnic is fashionable.

This is reflected in a number of ways. Scholarly journals have proliferated: in the United States, the first issue of *Ethnicity* is matched by the expansion of the *Canadian Journal of Ethnic Studies* in Canada. Ethnic Heritage Studies program grants are available from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Folk Arts research programs have been funded by the Smithsonian Institution; Canadian research is growing under the auspices of the Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies at the National Museum of Man in Ottawa; and, a number of ethnic history programs are supported by the Department of the Secretary of State in Canada.

Where once the major object of ethnic research was in how to ensure rapid assimilation to the majority culture, now the accent is on bolstering and supporting ethnic identity in the pluralistic mosaic and melting pot societies to be found in Canada and the United States. Funding is obviously available and research centres have sprung up around the continent in response to the needs of this current interest. The titles of such research centres all give some idea of the favorable view that the topic of immigration, ethnicity, and the concept of a pluralistic society now enjoy; for example, the Center for the Study of American Pluralism at the University of Minnesota,[3] and the Institute of Canadian Ethnic Studies at the University of Calgary. Likewise, government action by legislation has openly blessed such concerns. One need not be an academic to take note of the current resurgence towards ethnicity. Indeed, one can hardly spend a day in front of prime-time television without being aware of the fact that ethnic themes run high on the rating lists these days. The list of ethnically-flavored shows is too large to enumerate.

This shift of interest is illustrated in Palmer's recent description of the history and present state of ethnic studies in Canada.[4] Ethnic studies previous to and just after the last war concentrated on policy and method for enhancing assimilation to the Canadian norm. Indeed, such studies often provided commentary on the suitability of various types of ethnic groups as immigrants to Canada. Recent studies, on the other hand, emphasize the benefits to be found in a multi-cultural society as the result of such immigration.

Palmer (1975) interprets this change as follows:

> Immigrants themselves (particularly those immigrants of non-British, non-French origin) had to cope with many doubts and fears about their place in Canadian society. Would it be possible or even desirable for them to retain their culture and religion in this new land? Would striving for economic success and education undermine their cultural identity? Was it necessary to hide one's ethnic identity in order to succeed economically and to be accepted by the Canadian-born? How could individuals and ethnic groups best respond to discriminatory treatment? These questions have remained constant over the past hundred years. The answers, however, have changed as Canadian society has changed.[5]

While the accent has now shifted in favor of overt ethnicity or at least the trappings of ethnicity within the recipient society, contemporary small immigrant groups still face the practical problems of assimilation to some degree. This situation may be especially true for those smaller groups who have neither a previously established identity nor sufficient numbers to make themselves known as distinct and unique. We found this problem to be true of a small group of Yugoslav immigrants who have come to Canada in recent years. The present paper wishes to call some attention to this facet of the immigrant-to-assimilant process in the face of the current resurgence of ethnicity.

According to the 1971 census figures, the Yugoslavs living in Canada numbered over 100,000. Although their number has since increased rapidly, this group still accounts for considerably less than 1% of Canada's total population. Moreover, the last census made no mention of this ethnic group, but instead had lumped them together with other ethnic groups under the heading of "other ethnic origin" or "other number." Even the category Yugoslav is slightly misleading, for this does not take into account even the major Yugoslav nationalities--for example, Slovenes, Croatians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and Macedonians.

Faced with this difficulty of identification of the various Yugoslav nationalities, we should point out that this paper deals with a small Yugoslav community in Victoria, British Columbia, which is representative of Slovenes, Croatians, and Serbs. Although small, this survey represents a sampling of the problems and aspirations facing similar small ethnic groups in the process of assimilating into the mainstream of Canadian life. More specifically, attitudes are identified in respect to the advantages and disadvantages of retention of ethnic identity; do they feel that there is a place for them in the larger society and at what expense? How do they feel about fitting into the "vertical mosaic" Porter[6] speaks of?

The data is based on a survey-type evaluative questionnaire administered to approximately thirty-five families. The survey consisted of a series of twenty questions ranging from reasons for immigration, educational history, present living conditions and employment, family relationships and family changes, attitudes toward intermarriage, and linguistic difficulties encountered. Certain questions failed to evoke any response because of their personal or political nature, and consequently were omitted from further consideration in this report.

A majority of those interviewed emigrated for economic and political reasons. Not only did a substantial number indicate that they had no wish to return, but the majority is obviously unconditionally committed to remain in Canada and to be successful. In fact only four individuals indicated possible permanent return to their country of origin. None found any discrimination in spite of their relatively new status in the country, though finding suitable employment corresponding to their previous qualifications proved to be initially difficult to newcomers, predominantly because of language difficulties. Indeed, language seemed to serve as an impetus to exceptionally rapid integration, because of its importance as a major vehicle to job attainment and job success. A negligible minority (unlike many Northern European immigrant groups) had some knowledge of English prior to arrival. Through government courses or their own initiative or a combination of both, they lost little time in setting themselves upon the path of language acquisition. None of those interviewed expressed any wishes in the direction of joining their local ethnic societies, occasionally commenting that they felt that doing so would impede their linguistic and perhaps cultural assimilation.

With regard to attitudes toward intermarriage, single males had a great deal to say about the characteristics, admirable as well as undesirable, of North American women. However, only one-third of the single males married girls of their own ethnic origin, while the remaining two-thirds married either Canadian women or members of other ethnic groups. Only one expressed the desire or the intent to go back to Yugoslavia to find a bride. Few found nationality an obstacle to intermarriage, and indeed, intermarriage was desirable in overcoming the problems of integration. This latter opinion was in fact representative of the majority of those interviewed, male or female, single or married. As one informant poetically put it, "dobri konji potiču mešanjem krvi sa različitim ergelama" ("Good horses come from the mixing of different herds").

Another factor contributing to rapid assimilation was the lack of an ethnic church in Victoria as it was conceived of in the home country. The church seemed to play a small part in their spiritual, social, and intellectual activities (this situation, we must add, is not true of the sample interviewed in Vancouver). The ethnic parish, which has traditionally been a major factor in the retention of ethnicity, has been conspicuous by its absence in this case. Before and after World War I ethnic parishes dotted the continent; in fact, this situation continued until after World War II at which time the younger, North American-born generations began to desert the urban ethnic parishes for the suburbs or like so many others were simply caught up in the cross-continent maelstrom of mobility that is so characteristic of our life and times. Now, not only have ethnic parishes largely disappeared from many areas, but this immigrant group neither came to one nor established one. Even so, as one individual observed, "Ljudi se ne sastaju u crkvi, već kod svojih kuća" ("People do not gather in church, but in their homes"). Another informant explained, "Crkva daje proizvod koji nije tako neophodan da bi ga svi morali kupovati" ("the church here does not sell a product that everyone needs to buy"). These comments obviously would not have been made in the context of the original society and likely reflect the lack of cohesiveness along the lines of religious affiliations that characterized earlier groups from Eastern Europe. Given this lack, the only recourse for the immigrant was to join the larger population in its social and spiritual activities.

A lack of cohesion among the people of this group with their desire to assimilate has also been reflected in their attitudes toward business ventures. They were favorably disposed toward initiating or participating in business ventures, but they indicated they would neither rely on nor seek the help of their countrymen in establishing their businesses. The implication was that business success depends upon participation of--and support by--the entire customer population of the area, not just that of a small ethnic sub-grouping of the population. This sample differs from that in Vancouver in that some businesses are successful primarily due to ethnic patronage; indeed, they strive for just such patronage.

In answer to questions about preferences for other ethnic groups, the responses were fairly unanimous in that the question of nationality was irrelevant. Individuals were to be judged on the basis of their personal characteristics rather than on the basis of their national origin. However, the tradition of pan-Slavism, namely, an almost mystical affinity with other Slavic groups that transcends political, cultural, and religious differences, did manage to surface in a number of responses. Characteristically, however, such responses did not specify group preferences by name. Thus has ever been the history of the movement--ephemeral, yet mystical in its general emotional and intellectual appeal, yet rarely realized in actual practice. Its manifestations here are no different.

"Do you think people originally from the same country should stay together?" In answer to this direct question, the prevalent opinion was that ethnic affiliation and group assimilation could co-exist. The implication is that while ethnicity may be one of the key words of contemporary North American society, for certain smaller ethnic groups, especially those outside the confines of the main urban centers, assimilation apparently is more desirable.

In conclusion, our study suggests that smaller immigrant groups may not consider their ethnicity as valuable a commodity as the current social ethnic does, but rather feel that they must assimilate into the larger society as quickly as possible. Perhaps ethnicity and the resurgence toward ethnicity is traditionally and currently better afforded by larger immigrant groups whose identity has been established by one or more of the following factors: 1) by a long history of residence in North America; 2) by the larger society's awareness of their identity and existence; 3) by their distinctive traditions; or, 4) by existing in sufficiently large numbers to make their identity known by sheer population size. This situation, we feel, is not only reflective of the complex problems of ethnicity and assimilation of the small Yugoslav community in Victoria and other similar small ethnic groups; it also provides a much-needed commentary on the current concept of ethnicity in a multiculutral society.

Notes

[1] Much of the information here presented is derived from fieldwork originally initiated and carried out by Želimir B. Juričić. For more detail on the methodological and theoretical considerations involved in the beginning stages of the research, see Želimir B. Juričić and David Pitt, "Social Adjustment of Yugoslavs in Victoria: Methodological and Theoretical Problems," Canadian Slavonic Papers, 11 (1969), pp. 212-20.

[2] Andrew Greeley, "The Rediscovery of Diversity," The Antioch Review, 31 (1971), pp. 343-65.

[3] Some of the discussion presented in this paper has profited from a visit by Joseph F. and Cathleen A. Kess to the Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota. We are indebted both to their research support and to their enthusiasm for this unique aspect of North American life.

[4] Howard Palmer, "History and Present State of Ethnic Studies in Canada," The Immigration History Newsletter, 6 (1974), pp. 1-9.

[5] Howard Palmer, Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1975).

[6] John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1965).

PORTUGUESE TILES IN THE GREAT AMERICAN MOSAIC:
AN OVERVIEW OF FIVE HUNDRED YEARS

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The subject I propose to discuss is as vast as it is fascinating and as little known as it is exciting and controversial. With the limits of time, I will necessarily only be skimming the top, painting in broad brush strokes, as it were, with only an occasional fix on a particular event or individual.

PART I: PORTUGUESE IN AMERICA

A. Explorers of the 15th and 16th centuries

Portugal was directly involved in the European discovery of America. The north Atlantic in fact, was one theater of Portuguese operation during their great Age of Discovery. Beginning in 1415 with the capture of the Moorish stronghold of Ceuta on the African coast, Portugal continued to attract from all nations the best men and equipment associated with the sea. From that beginning there developed a virtual explosion of maritime technology which ultimately led to the European discovery of the new world and the coming together for the first time, of all branches of the human family. Portugal had embarked on an adventure into the unknown open seas, which was destined to change the course of history; an undertaking not unlike our modern space program. For both, an entirely new technology had to be developed.

Before Prince Henry the Navigator established his base of operation at Sagres, sea-travel was limited to sailing with the currents or the winds, but not against them, and navigation was based on landmarks. Out of his school, there developed a refinement of the combined resources of the Christian and Judeo-Islamic maritime traditions, and from this agglutination, Portugal successfully developed both the ship [the Caravel, with its unique lanteen sail] and the technique [tacking] to go and return from the open sea. In addition to these two major break-throughs, the Portuguese developed yet a third revolutionary technique: astro-navigation.

Free to travel at will, Portuguese ships began to explore the Atlantic and soon amassed the largest collection of oceanographic data, including the all-important currents and wind directions. They became master cartographers and developed our modern system of meridians. Curiously, Portugal expanded her maritime technology and voyages of discovery over a period of some 80 years, virtually without competition from any other country.

By 1488, Portugal had established herself in the Atlantic islands of Madeira, the Azores, Cape Verde, St. Thomas, Principe, and travelled south along the entire length of western Africa and around the Cape of Good Hope, setting up commercial ports and engaging in trade monopolies. But her eyes were fixed on the primary goal of finding a sea route to the treasures of the East. Spain's acceptance of Columbus' plan to reach the Indies by sailing west [1492] must be viewed as a last ditch effort by Castile, a "Johnny-come lately" to the arena of maritime discovery, to beat the Portuguese to the prize. Columbus, of course, died thinking he had; Spain also believed he had, at least until 1498, when Portugal reached the real Indies and brought back treasure to prove it. The frenzied explorations Spain carried out from that point forward must be viewed in part as a face-saving effort to find something of value. It would be a quarter of a century, however, before such finds as the Aztec and Inca nations would be found and conquered. In the meantime, Portugal had won the long-sought prize and was--initially at least--reaping all the benefits. She now administered the spice trade, and controlled that of all Africa, India, Indonesia, China, and Japan. For good measure, she also added Brazil to her kingdom and was making every effort to explore North America.

Before leaving Columbus, we should note that the training he received for his historic voyage came during his 11 year sojourn in Portugal. At nineteen he left his native Genoa as a sailor and by age twenty-three was living in Portugal with his brother, Bartolomeu, who lived in Lisbon selling charts and nautical instruments. In 1474, Columbus married a high-born Portuguese lady, Dona Felipa de Moniz, daughter of the hereditary captain of Porto Santo in the Madeira group. There, in 1475, the couple's only son, Diego, was born. His widowed mother-in-law placed at Christopher's disposal the charts and journals of her seagoing husband. Soon he was a master mariner and by 1478 was the captain of a Portuguese ship; subsequently (1482) he was sailing with the Portuguese fleet to Africa and back.[1] Incidentally, the ships that carried Columbus to the Bahamas ten years later were Portuguese: two caravels and a nao. Also, the first to learn of his discoveries were the Azorean officials who tried to jail him, thinking he had been poaching in Africa.[2]

Since Portugal had a virtual monopoly on maritime technology, we are not surprised to find a number of Portuguese captains and navigators in the service of different countries. Magellan (the circumnavigator and discoverer of the Philipines), Solís (the River Plate explorer), Estêvao Gomes and João Martins (the former exploring the eastern coast of the U.S., the latter, Alaska), and João Rodrigues Cabrilho (the discoverer of California) to name a few, were all Portuguese in the service of Spain. In addition to these expeditions, Portugal herself carried out a number of her own in the New World. Long considered enigmatic, the inscriptions on the Rock of Dighton in Massachusetts appear certain to attest to the survival of Portuguese mariner, Miguel Corte Real,[3] who left the Azores (1502) in search of his vanished brother, Gaspar. That their father, João Vaz Corte Real and Alvaro Martins Homem discovered Newfoundland in 1472 is widely held; that João Fernandes Lavrador discovered Greenland or rediscovered Newfoundland in 1492, has also been established. Labrador was, in fact, named after this Portuguese explorer.

B. The 17th Century Portuguese Pilgrims: First Jews in America

In September, 1654, 23 Jews, recently from Brazil, arrived in New Amsterdam and became the earliest known Portuguese immigrants in America.[4] Forced to become Christians in 1497, Portugal's Marranos or underground Jews were the target of considerable persecution and began to flee the country in large numbers. Many fled to the Netherlands[5] where they could practice Jewry openly. A century later, some of their descendants moved to Dutch Brazil (1629) where they joined with the New Christians already living in Brazil to form the first Jewish community in the New World.[6] When the Dutch were expelled from Pernambuco (1654), their Jewish citizens either returned to Holland, relocated in the islands of the Caribbean or came to Dutch America.

In January, 1655, a petition was sent to the Director of the Dutch colony, Peter Stuyvesant, asking that these Portuguese Jews--as they were pleased to identify themselves--might settle in the city.[7] The governor denied the request, but was overruled by his council.[8] The coming of these Portuguese also marked the formation of the first Jewish colony in North America. In 1728, the British permitted New York's Sephardic congregation to construct what proved to be America's first Synagogue. The gravestones in the churchyard date from 1656 and are still legible.

C. Portuguese Whalers of the 18th and 19th Centuries

Strategically located in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, the Portuguese islands of the Azores and Cape Verde became important ports of call for foreign ships needing to replenish their water, supplies, and sometimes their sailors as well. Since living conditions were always difficult, hundreds, perhaps thousands of men braved the terrible conditions aboard whaling vessels for a chance to improve their lot in life. Often as not they would jump ship once they reached the U.S., usually in New Bedford, Massachusetts. Soon sizeable Portuguese fishing communities dotted New England's coastal towns. Fall River today has the highest concentration of Portuguese in America. When whaling stations were established in California, most of them too were manned by Portuguese: "At most of the [17] stations the work of whaling was done almost exclusively by Azorean Portuguese. In 1860 all thirty whalers operating out of Monterey were of Azorean birth, and, referring to the year 1880, G.B. Goode confirms: 'There are two companies of whalers in San Luis Obispo County. The first . . . consists of twenty men, most of whom are from the Azore Islands. The other camp . . . consists of twenty-one men, all of whom, save one American, are from the Azores'."[9] Bancroft lists by name a total of twelve Portuguese who came to homestead in California prior to the U.S. period,[10] beginning with Antônio José Rocha who jumped ship in 1815. With the gold rush many more came so that by 1860, California claimed 1,560 foreign-born Portuguese.[11] Both the east and west coast Portuguese communities have continuously been fed by a more or less steady stream of new Azorean immigrants. California boasts 900,000 Portuguese today.[12]

Hawaii, the third major area of Portuguese concentration in the U.S., also attracted large numbers of Azorean whalers. When that industry closed, the Portuguese kept coming to work the sugar cane fields. Their blood has been mixed profusely in that melting pot of races.

PART II: DISTINGUISHED PORTUGUESE/AMERICANS

One of the most distinguished Portuguese ever to contribute to America's growth and do it with such vigor that he would be called "one of the fathers of our country"[13] was Abbé José Correa da Serra. Born at Serpa, Portugal, 6 June 1750, he became one of the most admired and respected men of his age. Prior to coming to the U.S., where he remained for nine years (1812-1820), he had firmly established his reputation all over Europe. Taking his holy orders in 1775 and his Doctor of Laws in 1777, he was the organizer and perpetual Secretary of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, a knight of the Order of Christ, a fellow of England's Royal Society and of France's Société Philomatique. He contributed numerous essays and publications to each of these and many more organizations. When he came to live in the United States: "[Correa da Serra was] a sophisticated European, wise in judgment and experience and learned in the older continent's most ancient humanism and most recent science. For Correa da Serra was far more than [a] political liberal and whilom diplomat. He brought with him an international reputation as botanist, geologist, antiquarian, and litterateur. Trained in theology and political economy as well as history and science, he hoped to employ all his talents."[14] Here he was elected to the American Philosophical Society, and the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Thomas Jefferson, one of his closest associates and President of the first named society, said of Correa, after their first meeting: "[He is the] best digest of science in books, men, and things that I have ever met with; and with these the most amiable and engaging character."[15] So admired by Jefferson was the Abbé, in fact, that one of the guest rooms at Monticello--where he visited yearly--bore his name; the correspondence between them is quite extensive.[16]

After 1816 Correa da Serra was named Minister Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States, which added to his appeal as a lecturer and dinner guest. He travelled extensively throughout the young country, studying plants, soils and fossils, meeting with Indians, publishing monographs and presenting papers at various institutions. He came into contact with the best of America's intellectuals whom he encouraged in their work by offering suggestions, traveling with them, researching for them, and, most important of all, putting them in touch with the finest minds in Europe. Under his tutelage came a host of names, including Ticknore, Gilmore, Bigelow, Walsh, and Brown. They called him "the restored Franklin," "the American Socrates." Offered a professorial chair in three American universities, the Abbé continued to publish and lecture in Botany, Geology, Politics, and Education. In 1821, Jefferson remarked that: "Mr. Correa's approbation of the plan & principles of our university flatters me more than that of all its other eulogists; because no other could be put in a line with him in science and comprehensive scope of mind."[17] President James Monroe credits him with our Naturalization Laws of 1817;[18] Brackenridge, with the boundary settlement in Florida.[19] He was a co-founder of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and assisted in the preparation of the first Portuguese grammar pubblished in the U.S.[20] A friend to four Presidents and virtually all of America's intellectuals, it was with sincere regret that the venerable Serra returned to Portugal in 1820, where he died three years later at the age of 73.

Better known to us are three Americans of Portuguese descent born in the 19th century: bandsman John Philip Sousa, Justice Benjamin Cardozo and novelist John dos Passos. The composer of the "Stars and Stripes Forever" was born in 1845 in Washington, D.C. His father, António Sousa, was from Portugal, probably the Azores where it is claimed he was a member of the regimental band of Angra do Heroísmo, the capital of Terceira. John Philip apparently knew little of his father's background and the elder Sousa was reluctant to speak of his life prior to emigrating to the United States.

The renowned jurist Benjamin Nathan Cardozo was born in New York in 1870. A descendent of the old Portuguese Jewish community, he was graduated from Columbia University and in 1914 became a member of the New York Court of Appeals, serving as its chief justice after 1927. President Hoover appointed him to the Supreme Court of the United States in 1932 to succeed Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Novelist John dos Passos was born in Chicago in 1896. His grandfather, Manoel, was from Ponta do Sol, Madeira. His father, John R. Sr., although born in Philadelphia, kept his Portuguese ties and manners all his life. When the future writer underwent a hernia operation, his father made sure he was sent to Madeira to recover and to learn first-hand about his Portuguese heritage. Young John stayed in Funchal. Nearing the end of his life, Dos Passos wrote The Portugal Story (1969), a tribute to his ancestral homeland.[21]

Luso-Americans continue to contribute significantly to American life in a wide variety of fields. Massachusetts has two Luso-American State Senators (Fonseca and Mendonça) and ten Representatives. John M. Arruda is a former Mayor of Fall River and Edmund Denis is District Attorney. California-Portuguese in government include former State Senators John G. Mattos and H. L. Christian (Cristão) and Assemblyman Antonio A. Rogers. Active Assemblymen are Joe A. Gonsalves and John Vasconcellos. Helen Lawrence was Mayor of San Leandro, J. Bettencourt of Dairy Valley, F. C. Leal of Cerritos, G. Oakes (Carvalho) of Hayward, and F. Barcellos of Santa Clara. The first U.S. Congressman of Portuguese descent is Ronald A. Sarasin of Connecticut. Two other distinguished Luso-Americans include Ernest Ladeira, Coordinator for the Older Persons, OEO, and Brigadier General Silva.

Portuguese-Americans have distinguished themselves in professional sports as well: in baseball, all-time greats include Lou Fonseca and Billy Martin, now manager of the Texas Rangers. In football we find Rocky Freitas of the Detroit Lions and Jesse Freitas of the San Diego Chargers. A Portuguese-American golf champion was the late Tony "Champagne" Lima.

Luso-Americans have also become famous in the entertainment field, as well, including singer-movie star Carmen Miranda (who came to this country via Brazil), radio star Hal Peary (Pereira) who created the role of the Great Gildersleeve, singer-actor Tony Martin, and television star Karen Valentine. In religious matters, the present Cardinal of Boston is Portuguese-born Humberto de Medeiros, ordained in 1973.

In literature we have two towering figures: José Rodrigues Miguéis, Portugal's greatest living prose writer (who for 30 years has been an American citizen), and poet, critic and all-around man of letters, Jorge de Sena, currently chairman of both the Spanish and Portuguese Department and Department of Comparative Literature at the University of California, Santa Barbara. That Dr. Sena is regarded as the number one living poet of Portugal, and perhaps the third of all time, is well established; that he is the leading authority on Portuguese cultural history is also recognized, and today he is making a name in comparative literature with his scholarly studies of Petrarch, Machiavelli, and his monumental translations. But his major contribution to the American scene lies elsewhere. Like his predecessor, Abbé José Correa da Serra, Dr. Sena has been the mentor of an entire generation of American intellectuals and educators, young and old. Wherever he has traveled, whenever he has presented papers, contributed articles or published books, wherever he has taught, he has been firmly establishing the foundation for serious Luso-Brazilian studies in this nation as never before. Under his guidance, scores of Ph.D.'s have been graduated and are now heading up Portuguese studies in a number of universities. Tireless in his efforts, he has encouraged and stimulated both by word and by letter (he has written virtually reams of papers); he has reviewed and critiqued works, sat on panels, discoursed, written, published and in countless other ways too numerous to mention--not the least of which has been the hospitality he has extended to the steady stream of visitors who came to stay at his home each year--Dr. Sena has pointed the way to excellence at every turn. When the full story is told, it may be quite unbelievable what this one individual was able to accomplish for the advancement of Luso-Brazilian studies alone, in little more than a decade.

PART III: LUSO-AMERICANS TODAY: SUCCESS AND FAILURE

There is more that could and should be said regarding Portuguese contributions to America, especially in the area of business. This nation' tuna industry, for example, was begun, developed, and refined by Portuguese-Americans from the Azores.[22] Even today, 75% of the American Tuna Fleet--which is stationed at San Diego, and whose modern boats make the news whenever one of them gets apprehended in Ecuador or Peru--are owned and operated exclusively by Luso-Americans.[23] The bulk of California's Dairy Industry is owned and operated by Portuguese-Americans. Portuguese have organized scores of Fraternal Insurance Companies. The Portuguese communities across America have maintained their cultural heritage through the annual celebration of the Holy Ghost Festival, with its parade, freely offered community dinner, dance and religious service; they have maintained it with the erection of the D.E.S. Halls, with their newspapers, their radio shows and by reciting their oral traditions, handed down in medieval ballads.

But there are areas of concern. The old ways are not the ways of the second generation. Young minds are being wasted: students coming to this country have not continued to learn in Portuguese, and with insufficient knowledge of English, they have not been able to take full advantage of their studies in the American classroom. They now find themselves at the intermediate and secondary levels unable to read satisfactorily in either their dominant or second language.[24] Many hide their Portuguese heritage, change or anglicize their name, deny that they can understand Portuguese. Why is this? Several factors contribute.

The typical Portuguese immigrant is a manual laborer from the Azores.[25] His goal is to save $25,000 in seven years and return home. Through his incredible frugality and capacity for work, he usually achieves the financial goal,[26] but the family unit has been strained in the process. Placing a premium on work and frugality has set the children at odds with their peers, whose fancy clothes, cars, money, and free time become a growing source of irritation. In addition, the parents have typically received only a 4th grade education and see no need of their children receiving anything more. American insistence on education is viewed as a barely tolerable imposition, since school robs a child of time which could be spent earning money; moreover, classes are conducted in English, a language the child will not plan to use in the Azores.

Although most never return to the Azores,[27] if they tried, the older children would not accompany their parents, since by now they have fiercely identified themselves as Americans (often assimilating the crasser aspects of their adopted country). Not knowing, and often not caring to learn anything about their Portguese cultural heritage--in truth they do not suspect that there may be anything of value since the only Portugal they know is represented by the rural, provincial Azores--they are content to equate progress and culture with the U.S.; everything Portuguese is, almost by definition, backward. The language becomes merely that medium one uses to speak to and run errands for parents; nothing else.

To deal with some of these issues, Portuguese bilingual programs have been started in a few schools in California and on the East Coast; most are funded by the federal government.[28] These programs have provided some direction to the community and much needed curriculum materials.[28] In California, the annual Portuguese Communities Day has, since 1972, brought together representatives from all sectors of the Luso-American community to try to solve mutual problems. Similarly, some universities which offer Portuguese have sponsored conferences or established organizations to deal with the dearth of available information so necessary in finding permanent solutions to the complex problems.[29] But much remains to be done.

The 1974 Portuguese revolution has caused the Azoreans to do some soul searching. Proud to be Portuguese, but with strong family ties in the U.S., Azoreans resent the leftist leanings of the mainland government. Some spokesmen are advocating independence, as Cape Verde has chosen to do. Whatever the outcome, Portuguese tiles are firmly fixed in the great American cultural mosaic, and in this Bicentennial year, it is wholly proper not only that we recognize and give full credit to Portuguese contributions of the past, but incumbent upon us to applaud those being made today, and more importantly, to aid those who will make them in the future.

Notes

[1] Cf. Samuel Eliot Morison, The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), pp. 16, 17.

[2] Portugal claimed Columbus' new land, as provided by the Treaty of Alcáçovas (1479), which gave her exclusive rights to all lands south of a line running east and west below the Canary Islands. Spain avoided a second war by negotiating; first, through the Spanish Pope (1493) and then directly in 1494 with

the Treaty of Tordesilha, which limited Spain to lands west of a line running north and south passing 1,184 miles west of the Cape Verde Islands; Portugal was to retain all lands east of that line. See A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal*, (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1972), I, 222.

[3] See Manuel Luciano da Silva, *Portuguese Pilgrims and Dighton Rock* (Bristol, R.I.: R. E. Smith, 1971).

[4] Arnold Wiznitzer, "The Exodus from Brazil and Arrival in New Amsterdam of the Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, 1654," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, 44 (December 1954), pp. 80-97. The heads of the six families were: Abram Ysrael (De Piza) or (Dias) ; David Israel (Faro); Asher Levy; Mose Lumbroso; Judith Mercado; Ricke Nunes.

[5] The Treaty of Utrecht in 1579, provided that no one within the territory of the Dutch republic could be persecuted for his religious convictions or practices; naturally, this provision encouraged the Portuguese Marranos to emigrate to Amsterdam. "By 1624, Amsterdam contained approximately eight hundred Jews, most of whom were Portuguese." Arnold Wiznitzer, *Jews in Colonial Brazil* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1960), p. 43.

[6] Arnold Wiznitzer, *The Records of the Earliest Jewish Community in the New World* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1954).

[7] The entire text of the petition is published in Wayne Moguin, ed., *Makers of America*, 10 Vols. (New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1971) I, 91-93. Rpt. from *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 18 (1909), pp. 9-11.

[8] For a detailed account of the Portuguese Jews in New Amsterdam, including the transactions between Stuyvesant and the council, see Frederick J. Azwierlein, *Religion in New Netherland, 1623-1664* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), which is a reprint of the 1910 edition. Chapter VIII is "The Persecution of the Jews," pp. 247-65.

[9] Alvin R. Graves, "The Portuguese in California, 1850-1880: A Geographical Analysis of Early Settlement Phenomena," in *Report: First Symposium on Portuguese Presence in California* (San Leandro, Cal.: Centro Cultural Cabrilho, UPEC Cultural Center, Luso-American Education Foundation, 1974), p. 50.

[10] This number was arrived at by painstakingly reading through the massive index to Hubert Howe Bancroft's History of California, 7 Vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890) (where at the end of vols. 2-5 he has listed, in alphabetical order, the Pioneer Register and Index, 1542-1848) and separating those identified as Portuguese. They are, in order of their arrival: Cabrilho (Juan Rodriguez) 1542, XIX, 739; Rocha (Antonio José) 1815, XXII, 699; Pasos (Manuel de Dios) 1822-4, XXI, 768; Pereira (Joaquin) 1826, XXI, 773; Oliveira (Manuel D.) 1829, XXI, 758; Pacheco (Jordan) 1829, XXI, 763; Bollon (José Maria) 1834, XIX, 723; King (Manuel) 1835, XXI, 700; Mota (Manuel) 1836, XXI, 747; Demarente (Manuel) 1836, XIX, 778; Silva (Antonio) 1840, XXII, 720; Dutra de Vargas (Manuel) 1841, XIX, 787; Souza (Wm.) 1847, XXII, 729.

[11] Graves, *Op. cit*. Between 1860 and 1880 the Portuguese population in California jumped to 13,159. *Ibid*., p. 51.

[12] Rev. Dr. Leonel C. Noia, "The Azoreans and their Struggle for Social and Political Identity," paper delivered at the Colloquium on the International Repercussions of the Portuguese Revolution, Center For Latin American Studies, California State Univ., Long Beach, 6 February 1976.

[13] The statement is part of the dedication, pp. 3-6, of the 1817 edition of H. M. Brackenridge's *Views of Louisiana*, offered to "His Excellency, the Chevalier José Correa, de Serra, Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. F. Majesty, The King of Portugal and the Brazils," reproduced in Richard Beale Davis, *The Abbé Correa in America, 1812-1820: The Contributions of the Diplomat and Natural Philosopher to the Foundations of Our National Life* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955), p. 121.

[14] Davis, *Ibid*., p. 90.

[15] Letter to Dr. Caspar Wister, 17 August 1813, quoted in Davis, *Ibid*., p. 99.

[16] *Ibid*., p. 101.

[17] Letter to Dr. John F. Oliveira Fernandes, 28 May 1821, quoted in Davis, *Ibid*., p. 116.

[18] Monroe, *Writings*, VI, p. 147, quoted in Davis, *Ibid*., p. 105.

[19] Brackenridge implies as much, as explained by Davis, *Ibid*., p. 117.

[20] See Robert C. Smith, "A pioneer teacher: Father Peter Babad and his Portuguese grammar," *Hispania*, 28 (1945), p. 337; quoted in Davis, *Ibid*., p. 118n.

[21] Information on John Dos Passos was taken from his The Best Times: An Informal Memoir (New York: New American Library, 1966).

[22] See Frederick G. Williams, "Os Inícios da Pesca do Atum en San Diego," in Report: First Symposium on Portuguese Presence in California (San Leandro, Cal.: Centro Cultural Cabrilho, UPEC Cultural Center, Luso-American Education Foundation, 1974), pp. 6-7.

[23] See Eduardo Mayone Dias, "A imigração na Califórnia magoa a criança portuguesa," Expresso (Lisbon), 6 April 1974. The situation he reports on was taken from the Artesia Portuguese Bilingual Program, a situation which led to the publication of a Portuguese-American Reader. The words are taken from the Preface. See footnote 28 for full bibliographic information.

[25] I estimate that as high as 90% of all Portuguese in the United States come from the Azores.

[26] Known as a hard worker, he is the cream of the crop to begin with. Since the islands are small, the immigration process is rigid and controlled; certain islands--and particular villages within that island--only settle (almost exclusively it seems) in particular parts of the U.S. In effect, it is merely the transplanting of the villagers. Within the freguesia or village, the families are well acquainted and inter-related. With family representatives already in the U.S.--and since one is required to have a sponsor--those who do come have been carefully screened. No one the family deems lazy or undesirable ever gets sponsored. Family feuds may also prevent or delay certain members coming to the U.S. The result is that only those Portuguese who have proven their frugality by saving for the long trip, or, more commonly, those who have in some other way shown they can be trusted to pay back the loan, ever come.

[27] Some do return, but more often than not, they find they can no longer adapt to the slower pace of life and invariably return to the U.S. The immigrant often feels a family obligation--with more than a touch of vanity--to return to the Azores just to show his relatives and friends that he has "made it." He is expected to bring gifts (clothing, appliances and other luxury items), to buy or rent a house or some land, and is obliged to entertain a more or less constant stream of guests.

[28] Any school district can apply for these funds, which are provided under the ESEA Title VII government grant for Bilingual-Bicultural Education. Although districts must compete for the funds on a yearly basis, once granted, they can usually count on support for a full five years. The cities whose schools have received such federal support are: West Coast: Artesia, Cal. (1969); Hayward, Cal. (1973); San Leandro, Cal. (1974); East Coast: Fox Point, Providence, R.I. (1969); New Bedford, Mass. (1971); Fall River, Mass. (1973); Rawtucket, R.I. (1973). In the Artesia program, for example, a number of readers were developed and published locally; they are available through the ERIC system and assigned number ED111698 in Resources in Education. At the elementary level: Fields, Vargas, Youngblood, & Borba, A Nina, O Papo e a Tia Tina (1973), and corresponding workbook; Fields, Vargas, & Williams, A Vaca Taca e Os Patos (1973), and corresponding workbook; Fields, Vargas, Borba, & Williams, O Gato Tato e o Galo Palo (1974), and corresponding workbook; Fields & Williams, Fifi a Foca e seus Amigos (1974). At the secondary level, two readers were published in both an English and a Portuguese version: Williams, Fields, Dias, Exploring a New World, A Portuguese-American Reader, Books One and Two (Cerritos, Cal.: ABC Unified School District, 16700 Norwalk Blvd., Cerritos, Cal., 1974). The Portuguese version reads: Explorando um Novo Mundo, Um Livro de Leitura Luso-Americano, Livros Um e Dois. A third reader was published in Portuguese only: Fontes, Dias, Vieira, Açores, Leituras de História e Cultura (1975).

[29] For example, the Cabrilho Institute, established at UCLA, is the first organization which combines academy and community. Since 1972, it has sponsored or co-sponsored a variety of projects and activities, including the publication of a Portuguese grammar book (Dias, Lathrop, Rosa, Portugal: Língua e Cultura, 1974), and a number of conferences such as the above mentioned symposium on the Portuguese presence in California, held in San Leandro in 1974.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: THE "GOOD QUAKER" AT KING LOUIS' COURT

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During this period in our national history we as Americans are re-examining the "American dream." Yet while we discuss, debate, debase, and sometimes dismiss it, seldom does anyone try to understand its origins. The "American dream" is a product of eighteenth-century thought. Much of it was created for us by those trying to understand or use us. Perhaps the finest example of this idea is "the Franklin phenomenon"--the passionate and enduring love affair between the French people and the American Founding Father. Through it, one can trace the development of the "American dream" and begin to understand its truths and its falsehoods, its accomplishments and its deceptions.

On 3 December 1776 the American ship, Reprisal, landed at the tiny port of Auray on the windswept coast of Brittany. Three American passengers disembarked--a seventy year old man and two young boys, seven and sixteen years old. Certainly this beginning was inauspicious for what would be the most important American landing in France prior to "D Day." This new arrival was none other than Benjamin Franklin, the Commissioner of the newly declared independent states of America to the court of Louis XVI. Accompanied by his two grandsons, Franklin slowly made his way to Paris where, for the next eight and one-half years, he would wage a diplomatic and economic war no less vital than the land war then raging on the other side of the Atlantic.

The mission with which Franklin was charged would have brought a lesser man to quick despair: enlist the aid of one of the world's most absolute monarchies in the struggle of thirteen small English colonies seeking independence from the world's major military power. The mission would have been impossible without two advantages that Franklin brought to the task. In the first place, he had his own immense personal reputation as a scientist, economist, moralist, and "primitive philosopher" which opened for him the doors to the salons of power. Secondly, a generation of French philosophes had prepared the French public to accept Franklin's version of the "American dream."

In order to understand Franklin's reception in France, one must go back a century in order to trace the image of the Quaker in French thought. In the seventeenth century when interest in this small English sect first manifested itself, it was as part of the general preoccupation with religious matters. To Catholics, Quakers were symbols of how Protestantism perverted religion; to Protestants, Quakers were symbols of either a fanatic element to be kept at arm's length, or a living testament to tolerance. Early in the eighteenth century, this religious interest became entwined with the passion for all things English. During this period, the French were primarily fascinated by the "peculiar" customs of the Quakers, most notably the hat that never left their heads and their use of "thou" to everyone including kings. Although the sect had numerous admirers, not until 1733 did the Quaker become a bona fide "philosophic" symbol. In that year Voltaire published his Lettres anglaises, the first four of which were devoted to the Quakers.

Voltaire established the Quaker as an example of purity in religious life and private virtue, a "primitive Christian" who could even make mankind respect "la vertu sous des apparences ridicules."[1] Moreover, Voltaire added an important new element to the Quaker image. He turned Europe's attention from the English Quaker to the American Quaker, the model citizen of Penn's model republic. In the fourth Letter, Voltaire eulogized William Penn as the "Legislator of Pennsylvania." With tolerance as its first law, with equality among all its citizens, and lacking both a priesthood and a standing army, Pennsylvania qualified as a "philosophic" utopia: "Guillaume Penn pouvait se vanter d'avoir apporté sur la terre l'âge d'or dont on parle tant, et qui n'a vraisemblablement existé qu'en Pennsylvanie."[2]

While Voltaire the satirist was able to keep some sense of balance in this early portrait of the "Good Quaker," he became more and more idealistic in later works. Moreover, Voltaire's "Good Quaker" was quickly embraced, with no reservations at all, by the French philosophes who saw Pennsylvania as a successful compromise between "civilized man" and the "Noble Savage": "To these philosophes of the latter half of the eighteenth-century, especially as the Revolution approached, the Quaker seemed to have recovered the true goodness of man, man unspoiled by society. Rousseau was confident of his own goodness, but he never claimed that the world could be reconstructed as it was before the origin of inequality, and the 'noble savage' as a model of conduct presented certain difficulties. The Quaker, however, had accomplished the miracle. He lived in the modern world, he carried on commerce, he had founded a great 'republic' but his manner of living was that of a natural man and his religion a sort of primitive Christianity, or rather of Deism modified by Christian ideals."[3] This man is the Quaker who would find his way into such "philosophic" bibles as the Encyclopédie, where Jaucourt's article, "Quaker," was based on Voltaire's Lettres anglaises, and the Histoire des deux Indes. At the same time Pennsylvania was established as the American colony around which the French version of the "American dream" would crystallize. Thus one of Franklin's most important assets was simply that he came from "the City of Brotherly Love" in the ideal Republic of Penn.

Needless to say, Franklin was not a Quaker, either in religious persuasion or life style. This fact was never apparent to the French, as seen in this January 1777 police report about the Commissioner's early days in Paris: "Dr. Franklin, who arrived a short time ago from the English colonies, is much sought after and entertained, not only by his learned colleagues, but by everyone who can gain access to him. . . . *This Quaker* wears the full dress of his sect. He has a handsome physiognomy, glasses always on his eyes, very little hair, a fur cap, which he always wears on his head, no powder, but a neat appearance. Extremely white linen and a brown habit are his sole ornaments. He carries as his only defense a cane in his hand."[4] Was Franklin shocked to be received as the incarnation of the "Good Quaker"? Indeed he was not, for he had been aware of this aspect of the "American dream" for some time. In a letter from Philadelphia dated September 30, 1764, Franklin had cited and commented upon Voltaire's "Good Quaker" as portrayed in the latter's *Traité sur la tolérance*. At that time, Franklin had expressed some concern about the idealization of Pennsylvania (and thus, America): "I have lately receiv'd a Number of new Pamphlets from England & France, among which is a Piece of Voltaire's on the Subject of Religious Toleration. I will give you a Passage of it, which being read here at a Time when we are torn to Pieces by Faction religious and civil, shows us that while we sit for our Picture to that able Painter, tis no small Advantage to us, that he views us at a favourable Distance."[5] Franklin the Diplomat, however, soon realized that Voltaire's portrait could be advantageous to him at a much closer distance. This aspect of the American image Franklin did not try to correct; indeed he exploited it as much as possible: "Neither Father Abraham [a character in *The Way to Wealth*] nor Franklin himself was actually a 'philosophical Quaker,' but Franklin pretended to this character during the period of his diplomatic negotiations in France. He adopted this guise no doubt because of the high reputation accorded to the Quakers in France deriving from Voltaire's *Lettres sur les Anglais* and other works. Franklin assumed Quaker garb, adopted an extreme simplicity of manner, and affected a grave demeanor, quite out of keeping with his natural fun-loving disposition. In a sense, Franklin's public character as diplomat and statesman represented Father Abraham in action."[6]

In addition to being the embodiment of the "Good Quaker," Franklin enjoyed a personal reputation in France unequaled by any other American. He first became known, of course, through his experiments with kites. Electricity was one of the most popular scientific puzzles of the age and Franklin became an instant celebrity in Europe as soon as his findings were published in 1751. He realized the value of science in cementing Franco-American relations. During the Revolution, Franklin saw to it that the partnership of American and French scientists, philosophes and reformers was affirmed by the election of many prominent Frenchmen, including Buffon and Raynal, to the American Philosophical Society. Franklin himself became a member of the French Academy of Sciences. The verses beneath his portrait summarize with typical eighteenth-century hyperbole the magnitude of Franklin's scientific reputation: "He stole the fire of the Heavens and caused the arts to flower in savage climes. America has placed him at the head of her sages. Greece would have set him among her gods."[7]

Franklin had established himself not only as a scientist but as an economist. His many friends among the Physiocrats were instrumental in publicizing Franklin's economic and political tracts, including a translation of his speech to the House of Commons on the Stamp Acts (1767). Franklin was no more a Physiocrat than a Quaker, but he could be cited as an authority on the advantages of an agrarian society. Indeed with the French editions of *Poor Richard's Almanac* (1773, 1777), Franklin took on the guise of a "primitive philosopher," a rustic sage whose pithy proverbs were considered works of a sublime moralist.

"Happy Farmer," "Primitive Philosopher," "Good Quaker"--Franklin embodied all of them; he represented "The American." No wonder then that his reception was warm and enthusiastic. As John Adams described it: "His reputation was more universal than that of Leibnitz or Newton, Frederick or Voltaire, and his character more beloved and esteemed than any or all of them. . . . His name was familiar to government and people, to kings, courtiers, nobility, clergy, and philosophers, as well as plebians, to such a degree that there was scarcely a peasant or a citizen, a valet de chambre, coachman or footman, a lady's chambermaid or a scullion in a kitchen, who was not familiar with it, and who did not consider him as a friend to human kind. When they spoke of him, *they seemed to think he was to restore the golden age*."[8]

Other evidence of Franklin's reputation came in his two encounters with Voltaire. In February 1778, the dying philosophe blessed Franklin's grandson. An even more famous episode was the April 1778 meeting of the Academy of Sciences during which Franklin and Voltaire were forced to embrace by popular acclamation: "The two aged actors upon this great theatre of philosophy and frivolity then embraced each other by hugging one another in their arms and kissing each other's cheeks, and then the tumult subsided. And the cry immediately spread throughout the kingdom, and . . . all over Europe: 'Qu'il est charmant de voir embrasser Solon et Sophocle'."[9]

An equally important although less celebrated encounter was the one between Franklin and the abbé Raynal. This is an important chapter in the "dispute over the New World." Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* (1761) had dealt the Americans a serious blow with his observations on climate (America was warm, wet, and full of unhealthy vapors) which "explained" why American animals were "inferior" (weaker, smaller, less varied) to those of Europe. Moreover, the native Americans were hairless, fearful, cowardly and almost impotent. In 1768 De Pauw had followed Buffon's initial observations to a provocative if illogical conclusion. In his *Recherches philophiques sur les Américains*, he postulated that all Americans (*including Colonists*) had to be inferior to Europeans because America was in a state of degeneration due either to its climate or to a "great American flood" equal to Noah's. Raynal in the early editions of the *Histoire des deux Indes* was favorably disposed to De Pauw's theories and publicized them widely. Obviously such an attitude on the part of such an influential man was not conducive to French aid. Why spend good French gold on a bunch of physically and mentally degenerate Americans? Franklin for obvious reasons, therefore, spent a good deal of time combatting such ideas. As the Americanists were quick to point out, Dr. Franklin was himself the best "proof" America was not decaying but instead producing superior people as well as a superior society. Franklin took on Raynal in person one night at a dinner party. The latter observed that the degenerate Americans were always smaller than Europeans. Whereupon, Franklin asked all the Americans present to rise, then all the French. Luckily for us, all the Americans present happened to be tall and vigorous, while the French were unusually diminutive, and Raynal himself was, according to Franklin, "a mere shrimp." The "mere shrimp" retracted his anti-American statements and afterwards became one of America's most enthusiastic supporters.[10]

Unfortunately, even a "Good Quaker" could not count on the unequivocal support of his most Catholic Majesty Louis XVI. For this Franklin had to work, throwing all his prestige and powers of persuasion against the official but wavering French policy of neutrality. Eventually, of course, Franklin's presence plus Washington's victories prevailed. The 1778 Treaty of Alliance represented a personal triumph for Franklin as well as a diplomatic victory. Thomas Jefferson, who succeeded Franklin as Ambassador to France in 1785, has stated the case better than anyone. Tradition states that when asked by the Comte de Vergennes if he was replacing Dr. Franklin, Jefferson replied, "No one can replace Franklin. I merely succeed him." Turgot phrased it in equally memorable terms with his immortal epigram: "He seized the lightning from the sky, and the sceptre from tyrants."[11]

The Franklin phenomenon is an object lesson in the origin of national myths. Franklin did not create the American dream. The French philosophes, anxious to believe their doctrines were at last being realized, and the French people, needing to believe that it was so, had already done that. Franklin's contribution was verifying the French image of America. In many ways, his fate represents the fate of the American dream. Both images were based on fact--a nation offering new political and social institutions, a man of exceptional genius and talent. But both images were eventually distorted. Just as Franklin was no "Good Quaker," America was no utopia. The Franklin phenomenon proved what is often true of individuals and almost always true of nations: our image in others' eyes is determined by their needs, not our reality. "Somehow Franklin seemed to fit every qualification for the popular hero which the French had long been awaiting. Voltaire had embodied the reason, the scientific spirit, and the humanitarianism of the century; Rousseau the sensibilité, the return to nature, simplicity, and goodness. But each had lacked the qualities of the other; Franklin miraculously seemed to fuse the virtues of both. He was the complete and perfect *Philosophe*. What could be more Rousseauean than his long white hair, his spotless linen, his plain brown coat, and his tall fur hat? What more Voltairian than his shrewd common sense, his devotion to liberty and tolerance, and his lightning rod? He dressed and lived like Rousseau, he thought like Voltaire, and he loved the ladies like both."[12]

Notes

[1] François Marie Arouet de Voltaire, *Lettres philosophiques*, ed. R. Naves (Paris: Garnier, 1964), p. 16. This idea of "virtue in a ridiculous light" became a watchword for Voltaire whenever he discussed the Quakers.

[2] Voltaire, p. 19. ("William Penn might glory in having brought down upon earth the so much boasted golden age, which in all probability never existed but in Pennsylvania.")

[3] Edith Philips, *The Good Quaker in French Legend* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), pp. 44-45.

[4] Abbé Flamarens, as quoted in Alfred Owen Aldridge, *Franklin and his French Contemporaries* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1957), p. 60 (my italics). This confusion over Franklin's "Quakerism" is not limited to the French; at least one local high school has a football team called the "Franklin Quakers." For more information, see also Edward E. Hale & E. E. Hale, Jr., *Franklin in France* (Boston: Burt Franklin, 1887-1888) and, for a lighter view, Claude-Anne Lopez, *Mon Cher Papa: Franklin and the Ladies of Paris* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1967).

[5] François Marie Arouet de Voltaire, *Complete Works: The Correspondence*, ed. Theodore Besterman (London: Voltaire Foundation-Oxford Univ. Press, 1968-1975), Best.D12112.

[6] Aldridge, pp. 59-60.

[7] Durand Echeverria, *Mirage in the West: A History of the French Image of American Society to 1815* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1968), p. 27. ("Il a ravi le feu des Cieux, / Il a fait fleurir les Arts en des Climats sauvages, / L'Amérique le place à la tête des Sages, / La Grèce l'aurait mis au nombre de ses Dieux.")

[8] Echeverria, p. 48 (my italics).

[9] John Adams as quoted in Aldridge, p. 12. This Sophocles (Voltaire) - Solon (Franklin) comparison became a commonplace.

[10] Echeverria, p. 65. Raynal was the victim of Franklin's wit as well as his logic. The latter's tale of "Miss Polly Baker," the unrepentant, unwed mother of five who pleaded her case before the tribunals of Boston and convinced the judges that she was only following God's command to "increase and multiply," was accepted as true by Raynal and printed in his *Histoire philosophique des deux Indes*. The tale also found its way into Diderot's *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville*. In French hands, "Polly Baker" became an exponent of deism and sentimental feminism. The whole episode led Balzac to remark: "Le canard est une trouvaille de Franklin, qui a inventé le paratonnerre, le canard, et la république" (Aldridge, p. 95). On the controversy about American degeneration, see Antonello Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic* (1750-1900), transl. Jeremy Moyle (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1973).

[11] Aldridge, p. 124. ("Eripuit coelo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.")

[12] Echeverria, p. 48.

HERITAGE: SEED TO THE HARVEST OF THE FUTURE

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Etched in stone at the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C. is a meaningful truth: "The heritage of the past is the seed that brings forth the harvest of the future." If this truth can be (and has been) associated, for example, with human physiological and moral developmental processes, why should it not also maintain its veracity for the future of foreign language teaching? With faith that it does, it was envisioned as the motto for the following; it could well be considered equally as valid for at least a portion of the thrust in our profession directed at righting the often precarious foundation from which many in the profession are operating.

The specifics of this presentation are meant to serve as examples of the kinds of projects which the innovative teacher can develop to bring broader visibility to his or her own language program, if not also to him- or herself as an interested participant in cultural affairs in the community. This presentation will assist members of the profession to become oriented to important avenues and procedures which can be followed to promote language study by drawing focus to the worth of foreign heritage around us including language and other cultural attributes.

Yet we must be aware that the opportunity to take advantage of the cultural heritage of our local areas is not increasingly promising. The process of homogenization is taking place at a more rapid pace than ever before. Some foreign ethnic elements which were once prevalent in North America are now, if not completely unrecognizeable, at least nearly so in the eyes of the general population. The last of distinctive generations are passing from the scene. To foster their preservation is to foster their culture, their customs, their language. Even with the assimilation process taking place there is much that can yet be identified.

In Montana, for example, when the foreign ethnicity is sought, one sees remnants of groups which have helped to build the state in mining, railroad construction, or remaining cultural influences reflected in esoteric customs, ceremonies, architecture, demised newspapers, and language. Many of these recognizeable characteristics diminish yearly.

While noting the passing of many of these characteristics as reflected in decreased foreign language programs in the public schools, a motto was sought, a program pursued, and monetary support desired, which would result in a project serving the foreign ethnic population of Montana as well as the foreign language profession. The motto was found, the program soon developed, but the question remained: where would financial support be found? The most favorable source for a program which addressed itself to fostering the values of foreign ethnic groups seemed to be the Montana Committee for the Humanities, a daughter organization of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Most states have such an organization and grants from a few hundred dollars to many thousands of dollars are available. However, in studying the literature relevant to grants the Montana Committee for the Humanities "Guidelines" outlined their theme: "Private Rights and Public Choices." All other aspects of their criteria seemed to associate themselves with the motto and the content of the envisioned project. Only the MCH's theme seemed to be too political; something for an historian, a political scientist, an economist or a sociologist, but not a language teacher.

Not true! From a letter written to the Director of the MCH the following is cited as the concept of a project in light of the MCH theme: "One of the basic rights of persons living in Montana and the U.S. is the prerogative of self-expression. Sometimes the inability to express oneself linguistically and/or visibly stems from the fact that one's points-of-view have been isolated from the mainstream of thought. The isolation process may be due to the lack of tolerance and/or repression, which certainly may curtail even the most heroic attempts to make one's thoughts and feelings and desires known."[1]

A project to allow for the right of self-expression and relate to the morphology of foreign ethnicity in Montana was the answer. Hence, throughout the summer of 1975 a proposal was finalized. A movie would be incorporated as the nucleus, and forums would be added as a leavening agent. These forums would act as springboards for statewide discussion of foreign ethnic culture in Montana. So that discussion would be assured, the project was to be adorned with the title: Foreign Ethnic Cultural Influences in Montana: "Promoted? Tolerated? Avoided? Repressed?" The movie as well as the forums would be produced and organized to stimulate discussion and self-expression.

Now, more perfectly than ever, the entire project was aligning itself with the issue of financial support. The movie would include considerations of (1) an historical perspective including former cultural influences in and on the state, (2) present-day cultural activity, and (3) the questions incorporated in the project title. Furthermore, the film would be entitled simply: "Remember."[2]

A mechanism had to be developed to bring all this to the people; the forums would be proposed for eight areas of the state: "The public forums will create an atmosphere of self-expression regardless of opinions. At the present we do not know what direction these will take. However, if there is an innate, possibly repressed, desire to make one's cultural heritage publicly visible and to promote the same, the forums should be a means to an end. This is certainly a private right that could lead to altered public choices."[3]

Leaders of foreign ethnic groups including civic leaders and town fathers would be invited to the forums to ensure a public discussion of the topic. Hopefully this can be a vehicle through which civic leaders will become more aware of the wants and needs of their foreign ethnic constituencies. The realization of increased cultural activity in the state is, of course, a greater possibility. Ethnic groups will feel their wants and desires are being considered, and those who are in control of public activity are receiving input from foreign ethnic elements. This could well flow over into the public school curricula.

In order to ensure objectivity, a central advisory committee was selected consisting of two foreign language teachers, an historian, a sociologist, and a professor of religious studies. These act as advisors to the film crew and the forum leaders (also called area chairpersons) around the state.

The area chairpersons were invited to a pre-forum seminar in January, 1975 where they were apprised of the responsibilities appertaining to the commitment they had made to the program during its initial planning stages. Most of the area chairpersons are foreign language teachers.

The film crew also attended the pre-forum seminar to relate their progress and further elucidate the nature and progress of the movie. Senior students from Montana State University's Film and T.V. Department produced the film as a part of their senior project working under advisors with highest degrees of expertise and competence. An arrangement like this could certainly be made between the directors of any project and film and television departments around the country. The product is very professional. Many such productions have become award-winning films.

For the area-forums a good deal of advertising must be accomplished including brochures and posters to be used on a local basis, articles in the local papers and T.V. spots. The area chairperson gets detailed instructions on his role in this realm at the pre-forum seminar. The project director, in this case, acts as coordinator and distributor of posters and brochures.[4]

By the end of September a proposal was submitted to MCH. Included in its body were:

I. A rationale in compliance with the MCH theme, including supportive information that the project would open the way for ethnic groups to express their feelings about their heritage and the direction it moves.

II. A detailed budget, including: a) expenditures for production of the movie; b) costs relating to all other aspects of the project. The MCH, of course, requires an in-kind contribution which must total at least 1/2 of the total outlay. Our particular budget requested about $8,470 for movie production, advertising, travel, and per-diem, etc. We projected a total of $13,560 for in-kind, contributed funds which include professional time donated, meeting space provided, and any of a great deal of other items, all of which would be donated.

III. A schedule of events--much of which is incorporated in the rationale. All funding institutions are desirous of the schedule you will follow. Ours gave a plan for: a) The production of the movie, including: 1) research; 2) the "Film Treatment" (see example following); 3) filming; 4) editing; 5) final release dates. Dates for other significant items were established including the--b) pre-forum seminar (January 1976); c) Montana Television Network's state-wide airing of "Remember" (April 1976); d) shipment of the film to 200 language teachers in 110 Montana communities for the purpose of viewing in school mini-forums, hopefully with education officials, administrators, and community ethnic leaders present. This phase was to be supported by the office of the State Supervisor of Foreign Languages.

What does this project mean to the Foreign Language Profession in Montana? In the Northwest?

1) This project identifies a motto, a rationale for expanding our own perspectives and areas of concern. Hopefully that ancient law of physics will hold true for foreign language teachers as well: that for each and every action there is an equal and opposing reaction.

2) The project provides foreign language teachers an opportunity for increased institutional and public exposure, whether this be in a public school, an institution of higher learning, a suburb, in the entire town or city or throughout the entire state or region.

3) The period enables foreign language teachers to focus on the indivisible nature of culture and language. A public forum-type activity could result in a proclamation by foreign language teachers and the members of ethnic groups alike, that a continuance of foreign ethnic customs, the study of language, etc. are desirable and necessary ingredients in our society. In such an atmosphere, civic leaders and school administrators should be impressed with that necessity. If adept, foreign language teachers should be able to take advantage of like opportunities to foster language study

and foreign ethnic studies locally, regionally, and even state-wide. Fostered by expressions of support by foreign ethnic voices and community leaders the ultimate expectation could be a renaissance of language and foreign ethnic studies on a local basis.

4) The project identifies, as an example, a source of financial support. Money is available, and programs do not have to provide a state-wide scope. They may well relate to local perspectives.

5) The project identifies a topic which is appropriate for obtaining the above mentioned monetary support.

6) The project identifies an example (project), and course of action (proposal), which can channel the support (both monetary and that of ethnic and community leadership) to the language profession.

All of the above can serve as an example which will stimulate ideas relating to heritage: seed to the harvest of the future. Large and small projects may arise. All, however, can lead to increased recognition for the foreign language profession.

Notes

[1] Correspondence from the author to Dr. Margaret Kingsland, Director MCH, 4 November 1975.

[2] The Film "Remember" can be procured for showing and/or review by contacting the author, Dept. of Modern Languages, Montana State University, Bozeman, MT 59715. The enquirer is required to pay for the return of the film plus insurance coverage of $100.00.

[3] Further quote from aforementioned letter to the Director of MCH (see footnote 1).

[4] The project's proposal and the film's "Treatment" (script) are available by sending $2.00 (to cover duplicating costs) to the author at the above address.

EDUCATION, RACE, AND THE COLONIZATION OF CHICANOS

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This paper explores the interrelationship between education, racism, and colonialism as these bear on Anglo-Chicano relations in the United States. A common theory of imperialism-colonialism is that certain economic imperatives promote the domination of some people by others. The form of this domination is determined by socio-political, historical, economic, and other forces. A major economic imperative in capitalist societies is the accumulation of capital. This necessitates a colonial form of relationship between the colonizer (Anglos) and the colonized (Chicanos). The relationship is hierarchical where the colonizer controls the social, political, economic, and cultural institutions, while the colonized has no control over any of them. Colonial relationship has a definite psychological component as well. Memmi states: "I have often noted that the deprivations of the colonized are the almost direct results of the advantages secured to the colonizer. However, colonial privilege is not solely economic. To observe the life of the colonizer and the colonized is to discover rapidly that the daily humiliation of the colonized, his objective subjugation, are not merely economic. Even the poorest colonizer thought himself to be--and actually was--superior to the colonized. This too was part of colonial privilege."[1]

Therefore, territoriality, geopolitical space, foreignness, and naked political oppression, although elements in the colonial relationship, are not the most crucial components, especially in neocolonialism. The structure and process of domination, exclusion, manipulation, and exploitation are important. This structure and process of Anglo-Chicano relationship constitute domestic colonialism. It is contended that colonial relation produces the colonizer and the colonized and that the privilege package of the colonizer is the direct result of the human harvest of the colonized; the colonizer needs the colonized. The colonizer determines the structure, form, and direction of the colonizer-colonized relationship. The colonizer utilizes such means as conquest, cultural invasion, dispersion, cooptation, indoctrination, coercion, and terror in order to maintain the particular relationship. Such mechanisms are disguised as "socialization," "acculturation," "education," "developmental assistance," "assimilation," and/or "law and order." The underlying purpose and results are, however, exploitation, subjugation, and the cultural-spiritual destruction of the colonized by the colonizer. Raskin[2] and Carnoy[3] point to certain features of colonialism such as the incorporation of all culture and history to fit the colonizer's view: the development of institutions, goods, and services that meet the needs of the colonizer and not the colonized; alienation, segregation, exploitation, and oppression; and low self-image, dependence, and subservience on the part of the colonized.

Raskin offers a model and theory of domestic colonialism by dividing the pyramidal U.S. social structure into what he calls four colonies. The Violence Colony consists of the military and the police force which in concert with the ruling class conduct the business of "law and order," peace and war. The Plantation Colony is the corporate superstructure managing our "cowboy economy." The Dream Colony refers to the media which determines what the "good life" is and how to achieve it; it also serves as the pacification-indoctrination mechanism in our society. And, finally, the Channeling Colony, the educational system sorts, trains, certifies, and allocates the social product (people) in society. The four colonies operate in conjunction with the ruling class and are instrumental in maintaining internal homeostasis. Raskin asserts that the U.S. is run by a few for a few and that the vast majority labors to meet systemic imperatives rather than its own needs.

Chicanos (and other minorities) constitute nations within the nation and domestic colonies in more than a metaphorical sense. They are fragmented, exploited, manipulated, subjugated, and excluded from the "good life" which they helped create. They are subject to daily racism, discrimination, second class treatment, and a barrage of cultural chauvinism. The very notion of "Chicano sub-culture" connotes the dominance and validity of McWASP culture over and above Mexican culture. The annexation of the southwestern United States served the "manifest dream" and imperialist expansionism. Underpaid and overworked Chicano laborers continue to provide windfall profits for Anglo monopoly-capitalism (Almaguer).[4] The braceros are imported and exported at will, depending on the "health" of American monopoly-capitalism.

Apart from individual pathological racism, systemic racism (Thomas)[5] is inherent in America. There is intense competition for achieving "access" to the control and definition of institutions in our complex society. The powerful excludes and cripples the powerless. Society has become a "negotiated order" and a "treaty of unequals" (Khleif).[6] Since this exclusion is based on ethnicity, racism becomes linked with colonialism. That racism is woven into the fabric of American society has been documented extensively (Myrdal).[7]

De facto segregation continues. The "melting pot" remains a myth. Chicanos having the same qualification and doing the same work as whites are paid less than whites (Blair).[8] Most Chicanos are employed in low-level, low-paying, blue collar jobs. Most do not have union protection. They are hired last and fired first. They suffer the highest infant mortality, receive the poorest education, live in the most impoverished conditions, and have far shorter life spans than their Anglo counterparts.

Domestic colonialism consists of economic, racial-cultural, and political-institutional domination of Chicanos by Anglos. These components constitute a complex whole, an integrated system which has been historically linked to the development, structure, maintenance, and expansion of white colonialism and monopoly-capitalism. Chicano domination by Anglos generate various kinds of surpluses for the dominant group in America. Fanon states that: "It is not possible to enslave men without logically making them inferior through and through. And racism is only the emotional, affective, sometimes intellectual explanation of this inferiorization."[9]

Domestic colonialism provides several major functions. It: 1) generates capital and "stabilizes" capitalism; 2) perpetuates, preserves, legitimizes, rationalizes, and "explains" social stratification; 3) provides convenient scapegoats; 4) provides psychological satisfaction for the missionary, liberal-"developmental"-"helping" minded Anglos; and 5) guarantees privilege and prestige even for the bottom layer of the white society. Thus, domestic colonialism is both a product and a process. As process, it refers to the economic, racial, and institutional relations; and, as product, it represents structures, attitudes, and actions, both individual and collective. Colonialism is not a gigantic, monolithic, explicit, and carefully engineered structure, but a covert, implicit, subtle, and fluid system of domination. It is intentional, unintentional, and cumulative but having definite impact on the daily lives of Chicanos and Anglos. The individual Anglo may or may not be racist but he/she participates in an unjust and racist sociocultural system. Anglo social scientists "diagnose" and label Chicanos and "rationalize" the hierarchical colonial-racist social structure. "Welfare"-minded white liberals perpetuate the structure. "Educators" certify people for their slot and maintain "proper" social distance in society.

Whites maintain a virtual monopoly over institutions. For instance, in California where 18% of the population is Chicano, two out of 195 legislators, 3.2% of city and county officials, and 1.3% of 525 federal employees are Chicanos. According to Guerra, 40-60% of the drug addicts, 40% of the inmates, and 17% of all juvenile delinquents in California are Mexican-American.[10] On the other hand, prior to 1970 there had never been a Chicano on any board of trustees or on the education boards. In the 109 or so institutions of higher learning in California there had never been a Chicano president or athletic director. In one area with some 100,000 Chicanos, only one part-time Chicano instructor was employed at the junior college serving that area. At Coyote School, there were no Chicanos in any influential position.[11]

The educational system constitutes the heart and blood of our society. It enculturates, acculturates, socializes, certifies, sorts, trains, and allocates the labor force. The school is also responsible for the legitimacy, credibility, territorial integrity, cohesiveness, and replication of the sociocultural system. Because of these major functions and because of the notions of cybernetics and homeostasis, education has become fundamental in the colonization of Chicanos. Historically, schools have been given the task of assimilating immigrants and others into the "melting pot."

The schools are conceived, organized, managed, controlled, and staffed by McWASP Americans. The structure, function, content, and methods of schools are oriented toward the mainstream culture and against Chicanos. Teachers either belong to or aspire to the white, middle-class.[12] Ulibari found that teachers either are not aware of the cultural milieu of Chicano pupils or that they fail to see any connection between a child's culture and his/her performance at school.[13] On the other hand, Fort found that a child's intellectual patterns as well as his/her strengths and weaknesses are related to his/her ethnic background.[14]

The public school system is the vehicle for the racial-cultural domination of Chicanos by whites, thus of internal colonialism. The school propagates a variety of myths about Chicanos. It either ignores or distorts Chicano history. It teaches values that serve the colonizers. It produces alienation, identity crisis, inferiority, and self-hatred among Chicanos. Rafferty, the former school superintendent of California, said that the school system in this country has three goals: (1) to teach patriotism and values necessary for an orderly society; (2) to promote "the American way of life"; and (3) to prepare adequately its students for their place in the U.S. economy.[15] According to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Chicanos are still either punished for or discouraged from speaking Spanish.[16] Because of invalid tests many Chicanos are labelled retarded. Many become "bilingual illiterates." About 50-70% of Chicanos drop out of high school.[17] Many Chicanos are "advised" to go into vocational areas, the armed forces, or short term business courses. Tracking is a common practice in schools. In mixed schools whites are often put in charge of Chicano students so they will learn their respective places in society.[18]

Interaction in multiracial classrooms is particularly damaging to Chicano children. A report by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission concludes that "on most of the measures of verbal interaction between teacher and student, there are gross disparities in favor of Anglos."[19] Overall, Mexican American children participate less than Anglos in all classroom activities. Classroom interaction is the heart of the education process and studies have found close interrelation between types of interaction and learning. My own study and that of Katz confirm the report.[20]

A child's self-concept is a crucial factor in how he/she deals with school and society. Coleman asserts that a pupil's "sense of efficacy" is the most important factor in school achievement.[21] Self-identity involves cognitive, affective, and action components. It is the relationship of oneself to oneself, to others, and to social institutions. Society identifies and labels the individual.

Language is another major issue in Chicano education. The (in)ability to speak standard English carries with it certain basic assumptions among Anglos. Many Anglos believe that one's linguistic competence is a measure of one's overall intellectual capacity.[22] Chicano children do have difficulty in English. About 47% of first grade Chicanos do not speak English as well as their Anglo peers. For Chicanos to survive they must learn standard English and the necessary "social know-how." Shuy and Hymes[23] have attacked the linguistic deficit notion and raise crucial points. The English language itself is an indicator of Chicano dependence on Anglos and an instrument of cultural imperialism.

Testing is an integral aspect of school. Many studies document a direct correlation between socioeconomic and ethnic background and IQ test scores. Coleman points that as minority children progress in school their IQ scores fall lower in comparison to McWASP children. Ellis and Davis and many others have found IQ tests to be biased.[24] Yet people like Jensen, Schockly, and school practitioners either believe in IQ tests or practice them on Chicano (and all) children, label them as "deficient," and track them.[25]

Deviation from the mainstream McWASP culture is viewed as "cultural deprivation," "disadvantage," "culture of poverty," and/or a manifestation of these. Educators have "studied" such differences extensively, labeled the problems, and have projected the school's failure on the Chicanos and their culture. School people, in fact, resent the heterogeneity the Chicanos bring to the school because it complicates the school's task and presents a picture of pluralism of which they do not approve. Valentine, Baratz, and Baratz present effective arguments and evidence against monoculturalism.[26]

The educational outcome of any child depends on a combination of his/her culture, the school experiences, peers, the psychological make-up of the child, the extent of the child's fear and hope, and the pay-offs that would accrue from success in school. The Chicano pupil exists in a limbo, where he/she must deal with powerful odds. He/she has already learned how the mainstream population views his/her culture, language, and people. He/she gets this from the media and in many other ways. He/she lives in poverty. He/she has learned that anything "non-standard" has no place or low place in this society. The child must also cope with Anglo educators' stereotypes and "the Pygmalion Effect."[27]

There is a history of confrontation between the school and the Chicanos. In its effort to assimilate the Chicanos, the school has consistently assaulted the cultural integrity and identity of Chicano children. It either destroys the child's culture or develops in the child a pervasive uncertainty and anxiety about his/her language, ethnicity, culture, identity, status, and personal affirmation. The school presents the Chicano child with McWASP stereotypical image and treatment. The low self-image of Chicano children has been documented by many.[28]

Chicanos have responded with psychic-intellectual and/or physical withdrawal. The supposed Chicano "anti-intellectualism" and "fatalism" is simply anti-schoolism and self-preserving behavior. Long enmeshed within the McWASP sociocultural system, Chicanos have experienced a unique form of colonialism. Yet they have not only resisted the "melting" process but are revitalizing and asserting themselves militantly. This has frustrated assimilation efforts and caused severe stress in American society.

Domestic decolonization is underway. The ethnic, racial, and culturally based Chicano movement is steeped in identity and in the struggle to establish control over their lives, and gain access to power and resources controlled by white colonizers. White response has ranged from "welfarism" to terrorism. However, the structure of colonialism is becoming vivid; the discrepancy between liberal slogans and social reality clearer. The class struggle continues.

Notes

[1] Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), pp. xii-xiii.

[2] Marcus Raskin, *Being and Doing* (New York: Random House, 1971).

[3] Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: David McKay, 1974).

[4] Tomas Almaguer, "Toward a Theory of Chicano Colonization," *Aztlan*, 2 (1971), pp. 7-20.

[5] Donald Thomas, *The Schools Next Time* (New York: Viking Press, 1973).

[6] Bud B. Khleif, "The School as a Small Society," in Murray L. Wax, et al., *Anthropological Perspectives on Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1971).

[7] Gunnar Myrdal, *The American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).

[8] Philip Blair, "Rates of Return to Schooling of Majority and Minority Groups in Santa Clara County, Ca.," Diss. Stanford 1972.

[9] Frantz Fanon, "Race and Culture," *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967), p. 40.

[10] Manuel Guera, "Why Juanita Doesn't Read," *Educating the Mexican American*, ed. Henry Sioux Johnson and William J. Hernandez-M. (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1970).

[11] Zaher Wahab, "The Mexican American Child and the Public School," Diss. Stanford 1972.

[12] Cayo Sexton, *Education and Income* (New York: Viking Press, 1961).

[13] Horacio Ulibarri, "Teacher Awareness of Sociocultural Differences in Multicultural Classrooms," *Foundations of Education*, ed. Albert W. Vogel et al. (Albuquerque, N.M.: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1970).

[14] Jane G. Fort, et al., "Cultural Background and Learning in Young Children," *Foundations of Education*, ed. Albert W. Vogel et al. (Albuquerque, N.M.: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1970).

[15] Joe Gonzales, "Prospectus on Bilingual Education," cited in Hector Ayala, "The Politics of Chicano Education," State of California Compensatory Education, unpublished manuscript, 1972.

[16] United States Commission on Civil Rights, *The Unfinished Education*, Mexican Educational Series, Report II (October 1971).

[17] *Ibid*.

[18] Theodore Parsons, "Ethnic Cleavages in a California School," Diss. Stanford 1965.

[19] United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Teachers and Students*, Report V, Mexican American Education Study (March 1973).

[20] Marlaine Katz, "Attitudinal Modernity, Classroom Power and Status Characteristics: An Investigation," Paper for the Annual Meeting of the AERA, Chicago (April 1972).

[21] James S. Coleman, et al., *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Washington D.C., National Center for Educational Statistics, 1966).

[22] Martin Deutch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process," *Education in Depressed Areas*, ed. Harry Passow (New York: TOCU Press, 1973); Robert Green, "Dialect Sampling and Language Sampling Values," *Social Dialects and Language Learning*, ed. Robert Shuy (Champaign, Ill.: NCTE, 1965), pp. 122-23.

[23] Roger W. Shuy, "Bonnie and Clyde Tactics in English Teaching," *Foundations of Education*, ed. Albert W. Vogel et al. (Albuquerque, N.M.: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1970); Dell Hymes, "On Linguistic Theory, Communicative Competence, and the Education of Disadvantaged Children," *Anthropological Perspectives on Education*, ed. Murray L. Wax et al. (New York: Basic Books, 1971).

[24] Kenneth W. Eells, *Intelligence and Cultural Differences* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1951).

[25] Wahab, *op. cit*.

[26] Charles A. Valentine, "Deficit, Difference, and Bicultural Models of Afro-American Behavior," *Harvard Education Review*, 41 (1971), pp. 137-57; Stephen S. Baratz and Joan C. Baratz, "Early CHildhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism," *Harvard Education Review*, 4 (1970), pp. 29-50.

[27] Robert Rosenthal, "The Pygmalion Effect Lives," *Psychology Today*, 7 (September 1973), pp. 56-63.

[28] Thomas Carter, "The Negative Self-Concept of Mexican American Students," in William M. Cave and Mark A. Chesler, *Sociology of Education* (New York: MacMillan, 1974).

PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

CULTURAL PLURALISM AS THE NORTH AMERICAN HERITAGE

Twenty-seventh Annual Conference 1976

Holiday Inn Sea-Tac International Airport
Sponsored by Seattle Pacific College

PROGRAM

Thursday, April 22

4:00 P.M. EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING (Room 727)

Friday, April 23

8:15- 9:00 EXECUTIVE BOARD BREAKFAST (Room 727)

8:30- 5:30 REGISTRATION, COFFEE, EXHIBITS

10:00-10:45 GENERAL SESSION (Room 747)

Presiding: Dwayne Adcock, Program Chairman, Eugene Public Schools

Greetings: Phyllis Lamphere, Seattle City Council
David L. McKenna, President, Seattle Pacific College

"A Bicentennial Salute"
Seattle Pacific College Singers

Presidential Address: "Back to the Basics"
Michael H. Macdonald, Seattle Pacific College

10:45-11:00 COFFEE AND EXHIBITS

11:00-12:30 SECTION MEETINGS

TESTING SECTION I (Room 747 A)
Chairperson: Charles Stansfield, University of Colorado

11:00 "Teachers' Attitudes Toward Publishers' Tests"
Charles Stansfield, University of Colorado

11:20 "Semantic Aspects of Error Analysis and Transitional Competence"
Milton Azevedo, University of Illinois and University of Colorado

11:40 "Evidence for a General Language Proficiency Factor: An Expectancy Grammar"
John Oller, University of New Mexico

CULTURE SECTION I (Room 727)

11:00 "Heritage: Seed to the Harvest of the Future"
Rex C. Dahl, Montana State University

Description: The innovative teacher brings broader visibility to a language program by participating in cultural affairs in the community.

WORKSHOP I (Room 737)

11:00 "Slides again. Yet Another Way to Teach Everyday Vocabulary"
Harriet P. O'Swald, Eastern Washington State College

Description: Using pictures of the language learner's familiar surroundings personalizes and systematizes vocabulary acquisition.

SPANISH LITERATURE I (Room 109)

Chairperson: M. Audrey Aaron, University of Idaho

11:00 "Fuy a-pprovar la Syerra: The Archpriest and the Serranas"
Robert M. Johnston, University of Oregon

11:20 "Jacinto Grau: Librettist in Search of a Composer?"
Charles Param, Western Washington State College

11:40 "Unamuno: su ensayo como poesía"
Jack B. Jelinski, Montana State University

12:00 "El tabú del incesto en La casa de Bernarda Alba de Federico García Lorca"
María Pérez-Stansfield, University of Colorado

12:20 Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION OF GERMAN SPEAKING COUNTRIES (Room 747 B)

Chairperson: Klaus Engelhardt, Lewis and Clark College

11:00 "Walter Kempowski: Zeit- und Kulturgeschichte aus dem Zettelkasten"
Henrich Brockhaus, Western Washington State College

11:20 "Die slowenische Minderheit in Österreichs Südkärnten"
Leo Jecny, Lewis and Clark College

11:40 "Manipulation der Sprache und Progadaliteratur im Dritten Reich"
Günther Matschke, University of Alaska

12:00 "Ein am Tor der Vergessenheit stehender ostniederdeutscher Dialekt"
Guenter G. Schmalz, Montana State University

12:20 Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

LUSO-BRAZILIAN LITERATURE (Room 104)

Chairperson: Stanley L. Rose, University of Montana

11:00 "João Guimarães Rosa: 'The Quest of Augusto Matraga'"
Jack Schmitt, California State University, Long Beach

11:20 "Portuguese Tiles in the Great American Mosaic: An Overview of 500 Years"
Frederick G. Williams, University of California, Santa Barbara

11:40 "The Brazilian Revolution of 1964 as Depicted in Selected Novels by Antoñio Callado and Carlos Heitor Cany"
Nancy T. Baden, California State University, Fullerton

12:00 "Glimpses of Migúeis' New York"
John A. Kerr, Northern Illinois University

12:20 "The Meaning of Hope: An Approach to African Poetry in Portuguese"
Fernando Martinho, University of California, Santa Barbara

Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

SLAVIC LITERATURE I (Room 105)

Chairperson: Elena Sokol, University of Washington

11:00 "Women--Uncle Vanya's Predicament"
Ieva Vitins, Reed College

11:20 "Time, Space and Causality in the World of Bunin's Sukhodol"
Barry Scherr, Dartmouth College

11:40 "Patterns of Ambiguity in the Fiction of A. M. Remizov"
JoAnn Bailey, University of Washington

12:00 "An Aunt or a Book? Narrative Technique in Gombrowicz's Ferdydurke"
Bogdana Carpenter, University of Washington

12:20 Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

12:45- 2:00 LUNCHEON: TOP O' THE INN REVOLVING RESTAURANT
German Choir, Washington State University
Charles Kenlan, Conductor

2:15- 3:45 SECTION MEETINGS

STUDY ABROAD--AN UP-TO-DATE REPORT (Room 747 A)
Chairperson: Michael H. Macdonald, Seattle Pacific College

2:15 "Foreign Language Training Prior to Study Abroad: A New Perspective"
W. Frank Hull IV, University of California, Santa Barbara

2:35 "Career Related Study Abroad: An Idea Comes of Age"
Alan Galt, University of Cincinnati

2:55 "From the Foreign Studies Office--An Up-To-Date Report"
Jack O'Connell, University of Washington

PEDAGOGY SECTION I (Room 747 B)
Chairperson: Gerald Webking, South Eugene High School

2:15 "German Culture and Civilization: A Multi-disciplinary Approach"
Karen Achberger, University of Oregon

Description: A course of study, without a guiding textbook, which was developed to meet particular needs is explained.

2:55 "De Nuptiis Humanitatis Et Linguarum: Bliss in the Interdisciplinary Mode"
David P. Sudermann, Pacific Lutheran University

Description: A course of study cooperatively taught by members of the History and Foreign Languages Departments examining special problems of human responsibility in the specific historical contex of Western Europe from 1848-1945.

PEDAGOGY SECTION II (Room 727)
Chairperson: Horst Momber, Bellevue Public Schools

2:15 "Toward Systematic Vocabulary Acquisition: A Somewhat Reactionary Proposal"
Wolf Hollerbach, University of Alaska

Description: A conceptual framework designed to acquaint students with means and methods necessary for rapid vocabulary expansion.

2:35 "A Report on the Effectiveness of Singing as a Tool in the Teaching of Foreign Language Pronunciation"
Antonio C.M. Gil, University of Oregon

Description: Interest and success in foreign language learning is enhanced by learning songs in four languages prior to language instruction.

2:55 "Second-Year French Through Films"
Jeanne Bernard, Portland State University

Description: Films available from the French Cultural Attaché provide the framework for a nine-week language learning program.

FRENCH LITERATURE I (Room 109)

Chairperson: Marie-France Hilgar, University of Nevada, Las Vegas

2:15 "L'Ironie du Faux Eclat ou le Château d'eau d'une princesse"
Michel Chapelle, University of California, Irvine

2:35 "Felix Grandet: un homme nouveau?"
Louis Olivier, University of Oregon

2:55 "The Evolution of Point of View in Madame Bovary"
Douglas J. Daniels, Montana State University

3:15 "Gustave Flaubert: Painter in Prose"
Beverly Payne, University of Puget Sound

3:35 Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

COMMUNITY COLLEGES I (Room 737)

Chairperson: Gisela H. Schimmelbusch, Highline Community College

2:15 "Individualized Spanish and French Programs at Anchorage Community College"
By staff

2:55 Videotape of "Conversational Approach in Spanish at Clackamas Community College"
Carlotta Holley, Clackamas Community College

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE (Room 104)

Chairperson: John M. Gogol, Portland, Oregon

2:15 "Baudelaire, Mallarmé, and Wagner--A Comparison of German Musicians' Influence on Two French Symbolist Poets"
Elwood Hartman, Washington State University

2:35 "The Narrowing Vision: Dostoevsky and Kafka"
Roman Struc, University of Calgary

2:55 "Existentialism: Another Window for Viewing Literature"
Veronika Albrecht-Rodriques, Corvallis, Oregon

3:15 Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

ITALIAN LITERATURE I (Room 103)

Chairperson: Antonio Pace, University of Washington

2:15 "L'ideale di eleganza nel Rinascimento ed il De splendore di Giovanni Pontano"
Danilo Aguzzi-Barbagli, University of British Columbia

2:35 "Leopardi e la società"
Alfredo Bonadeo, University of California, Santa Barbara

2:55 "Osservazioni su due temi ricorrenti nel Mondo creato: vanità della sapienza umana e ripudio delle menzogne antiche"
Vincenzo E. De Nardo, Southern Methodist University

3:15 "La Calabria d'un poeta calabrese"
F.E. Albi, University of California, Bakersfield

3:35 Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

3:45- 4:00 COFFEE AND EXHIBITS

4:00- 5:30 SECTION MEETINGS

PEDAGOGY SECTION III (Room 747B)
Chairperson: Dwayne Adcock, Eugene Public Schools

4:00 "Guidelines for the Selection of Foreign Language Textbooks in the Common Schools: A Workable Process"
Keith Crosbie, Washington State Supervisor of Foreign Languages

Description: An outline of a series of activities or procedures to be followed in selecting a text series for classroom use.

4:40 "Modern Language Methods: A Research Orientation"
Robert D. Kiekel, Oregon State University

Description: Research in verbal and pictorial learning justifies a shift from a teaching to a learning methodology.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE CAMPS (Room 737)
Chairperson: Phil Baudin, Highline Public Schools

4:00 "The 'What' and the 'How' of Language Camps"
Renée McGuinn, Western Area Coordinator, National Federation of Students of German
Phil Baudin, Highline Public Schools
Paul Johnson, Highline Public Schools

WORKSHOP II (Room 727)

4:00 "Edmonds Learning Style Identification Exercise (ELSIE)"
Harry Reinert, Edmonds Public Schools

Description: Test to identify what is the most appropriate learning style for the individual learner.

FRENCH CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION (Room 747 A)
Chairperson: Mustapha K. Bénouis, University of Hawaii

4:00 "Benjamin Franklin: The 'Good Quaker' at King Louis' Court"
Carolyn Wilberger, Portland State University

4:20 "Les minorités linguistiques en Suisse"
Anton Andereggen, University of Portland

4:40 "The Contemporary Occitan Chanson"
Klaus Engelhardt, Lewis and Clark College

5:00 Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

GERMAN LITERATURE I (Room 109)
Chairperson: Katharina Maloof, Seattle, Washington

4:00 "Comments on Some Metaphors and Similes in Hartmann's Iwein"
Eugene Egert, University of Alberta

4:20 "Künstlertum und Bürgertum in den Frühnovellen Thomas Manns"
Bianca Rosenthal, California Polytechnic State University

4:40 "Tantalus absconditus in Goethes Iphigenie"
Ernst Loeb, Queen's University, Kingston

5:00 Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

GENERAL LINGUISTICS (Room 104)
Chairperson: Joan Birch, University of Montana

4:00 "Communicating in a Foreign Language: Some Sociolinguistic Considerations"
Joseph Matluck, University of Texas

4:20 "Disjointed Noun Modifiers in French"
Wolf Hollerbach, University of Alaska

4:40 "Things You Always Wanted to Know but Were Afraid to Ask About Quechua"
Wolfgang A. Luchting, Washington State University

5:00 "On the Preparation of Concordance Data"
Demetrius J. Koubourlis, University of Idaho

Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

SLAVIC LITERATURE II (Room 105)
Chairperson: Elena Sokol, University of Washington

4:00 "Further Refinements on a Structural Theory of Skaz"
Carol E. Pearce, University of Washington

4:20 "Generative Grammar and Dialect Differences"
Robert C. Ewen, University of Washington

4:40 "Stefan Decanski in Russian Chronicle Writing"
Gordon McDaniel, University of Washington

5:00 "Russian and Russian-Soviet Literatures and the Intelligentsia"
Igor Kosin, Washington State University

5:30- 6:30 PUBLICATIONS WORK SESSION FOR 1976 SECTION HEADS (Room 727)
Chairperson: David Benseler, Washington State University

5:30- 7:00 HOSPITALITY HOUR (Room 747)

5:30-11:00 SEATTLE AT NIGHT
Free shuttle bus service will operate between the Holiday Inn and downtown Seattle during these hours. Conference badge is your bus ticket. Check at registration table for additional information concerning schedules and loading stops.

Saturday, April 24

8:30 REGISTRATION

8:30- 3:00 COFFEE AND EXHIBITS

8:30- 9:15 ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING (Room 747)
President: Michael H. Macdonald, Seattle Pacific College

9:30-10:30 KEYNOTE ADDRESS (Room 747)
Presiding: Horst Momber, PNCFL Pedagogy Chairman, Bellevue Public Schools

"The 200th Year: More Need than Ever Before for Foreign Language Study"
Gilbert A. Jarvis, Ohio State University.

10:30-10:45 COFFEE AND EXHIBITS

10:45-12:15

SECTION MEETINGS

CULTURE SECTION II (Room 747B)

Chairperson: Eva Hagemeyer, Shoreline Community College

10:45 "An Ethnic's View of Ethnicity: The Yugoslav Experience"
Joseph F. Kess, Zelimir B. Juricic, Cathleen A. Kess, University of Victoria

11:25 "Guided Design Approach to Teaching of Culture"
Joseph Renahan, West Virginia University

CAREER EDUCATION AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES (Room 747A)

Chairperson: Wolfgang Dill, Oregon State University

10:45 "Reformation in Foreign Language Teaching: Career Education"
Wolfgang Dill, Oregon State University

11:05 "Foreign Languages and Career Education at Cleveland High School"
Loretta Wollett, Cleveland High School, Portland, Oregon

11:25 "Foreign Languages and Career Education at Cedar Park and Meadow Park Junior High Schools"
Judy Wayland and Pamela Johnson, Beverton, Oregon

WORKSHOP III (Room 107)

10:45 "Edmonds Learning Style Identification Exercise (ELSIE)"
Harry Reinert, Edmonds Public Schools

Description: Test to identify what is the most appropriate learning style for the individual learner.

WORKSHOP IV (Room 108)

10:45 "Seeking Federal Support for Language Teaching and Research in the Northwest"
Peter Eddy, Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, Virginia
Bruno M. Damiani, National Endowment for the Humanities

Description: Resources of extramural support will be identified including the support which might be obtained from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

SPANISH LITERATURE II (Room 109)

Chairperson: M. Audrey Aaron, University of Idaho

10:45 "The Changing Face of Humor in the Novels of Manuel Rojas"
Alfred W. Jensen, University of Idaho

11:05 "El primer cuento de Gabriel García Márquez"
Mary A. Kilner-Tchalekian, University of Victoria

11:25 "Structure and Characterization of Social Conflict in Two Spanish American Narratives: *El topo* and *El lugar sin límites*"
David R. Rearwin, Southern Methodist University

11:45 "Objective Correlative and Characterization in Salvador Elizondo's *Farabeuf*"
Earl L. Rees, Portland State University

GERMAN LITERATURE II (Room 727)

Chairperson: Katharina Maloof, Seattle, Washington

10:45 "Ödön von Horvath's Changing *Volksstück* Conception"
Robert A. Herschbach, University of Puget Sound

11:05 "Fate, Chance, and the Comedy of Kleist's *Der zerbrochene Krug*"
Richard C. Spuler, Washington State University

11:25 "Water Imagery in the Romantic Poetry of Karl Marx"
Leonard P. Wessell, Jr., University of Colorado

FRENCH LITERATURE II (Room 737)

Chairperson: Marie-France Hilgar, University of Nevada

10:45 "*Les Amours jaunes*: A Commentary on the Theme of Life and Death"
Toni Koubourlis, University of Idaho

11:05 "Julien Green's *l'Autre*: A Test of Faith"
Chavarche Tchalekian, Royal Roads Military College

11:25 "Le Concept de la mort pour Simone de Beauvoir"
Joseph Labat, Washington State University

11:45 "*L'Homme et la bête* de Senghor: Son thème et sa portée"
Jonathan Ngate, University of Washington

ITALIAN LITERATURE II (Room 103)

Chairperson: Antonio Pace, University of Washington

10:45 "La novità delle similitudini malavogliane"
Emmanuel Hatzantonis, University of Oregon

11:05 "La donna come immagine costante nella novella verghiana"
Rosabianca LoVerso, California State University, Sacramento

11:25 "Tradizioni umanistiche e innovazioni metodologiche negli opuscoli scientifici di Annibale Romei"
Gabriele Niccoli, University of Victoria

11:45 "Le scelte del traduttore in due traduzioni del' *Iliade*"
Ester Zago, University of Colorado

CLASSICAL LITERATURE (Room 104)

Chairman: Winifred E. Weter, Seattle Pacific College

10:45 "Corippus' Iohannis: A Latin Concordance"
Demetrius J. Koubourlis, University of Idaho

11:05 "A Revaluation of Fracastoro's Poem *Morbus Gallicus*"
Herbert H. Huxley, University of Victoria

11:25 "Notions Underlying the Middle Voice"
Frank E. Leddusire, Seattle Pacific College

11:45 "A Use of *Aeneid* IV as Loyalist Propaganda during the American Revolution"
Samuel Carleton, Pacific Lutheran University

Discussion and selection of Chairperson for 1977

CHINESE LITERATURE (Room 105)

Chairperson: Larry Foster, Western Washington State College

10:45 "The Friendship of Yüan Chen and Po Chü-i"
Angela Jung Palandri, University of Oregon

11:05 "An Ideological Inquiry into Chinese Marriage Through Folktales"
John Wang, University of Montana

11:25 "Further Motifs of Six Dynasties Fiction"
Larry Foster, Western Washington State College

11:45 Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE I (Room 106)

Chairperson: Henning Sehmsdorf, University of Washington

10:45 "A Reconsideration of the Hawk in *Brand* by Henrik Ibsen"
Linda Gunn, University of Oregon

11:05 "Dream Reality in August Strindberg's *A Dream Play* and Ingmar Bergman's *Wild Strawberries*"
Marilyn E. Johns, University of British Columbia

11:25 "The Search for Reality: A Study in Peter Seberg's Prose Writings"
Sven Rossel, University of Washington

Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

12:15- 1:30 LUNCHEON

1:30- 3:00

SECTION MEETINGS

TESTING SECTION II (Room 727)

Chairperson: Charles Stansfield, University of Colorado

1:30 "A Comprehensive F.L. Placement Test: A Key to Criterion Referenced Performance Testing"
William Geffen, U.S.A.F. Academy

1:50 "Folklore of Testing"
Harry Reinert, Edmonds Public Schools

2:10 "Assessing Language Dominance"
Betty Mace-Matluck, Seattle Public Schools

CULTURE SECTION III (Room 107)

1:30 "Heritage: Seed to the Harvest of the Future"
Rex C. Dahl, Montana State University

Description: The innovative teacher brings broader visibility to a language program by participating in cultural affairs in the community.

CAREER EDUCATION SECTION II (Room 747 A)

Chairperson: Wolfgang Dill, Oregon State University

1:30 "Career Education at the College Level: The Fifth Spoke in the Wheel of Germanistik"
Claus Reschke, University of Houston

1:50 Videotape: "Foreign Languages in Careers"
Wolfgang Dill, Oregon State University

WORKSHOP IV (Room 737)

1:30 "Good Slide Shows for Good Teaching"
Alan Galt, University of Cincinnati

Description: How does a teacher practically, artistically and technically compose and photograph material to be used for language instruction?

SPANISH CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION (Room 104)

Chairperson: Jaime Pérez-Montaner, Lewis and Clark College

1:30 "Education, Race and the Colonization of Chicanos"
Zaher Wahab, Lewis and Clark College

1:50 "El Bierzo: Inevitable Disappearance of a Mini-Minority"
Manuel Jato Macías, University of Portland

FRENCH CULTURE II (Room 109)

Chairperson: Mustapha K. Bénouis, University of Hawaii

1:30 "A Critique of Sartre's On a raison de se révolter"
Bernard Quinn, Montana State University

1:50 "Le Français à Tahiti"
Mustapha K. Bénouis, University of Hawaii

SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE II (Room 105)

Chairperson: Henning Sehmsdorf, University of Washington

1:30 "The Use of Models as Tools in Literary Criticism"
Virpi Zuck, University of Oregon

1:50 "The Rising Sun and the Lark on the Quilt: Quest and Defiance in Alfred Hauge's Cleng Peerson Trilogy"
Kjetil Flatin, University of Washington

2:10 "From Individualism to Communism: The Political and Aesthetic Transformation of Dag Solstad's Authorship"
Henning Sehmsdorf, University of Washington

COMMUNITY COLLEGES II (Room 747 B)

Chairperson: Gisela H. Schimmelbusch, Highline Community College

1:30 "The Adult Education Foreign Language Classroom"
Dana Carton, State University of New York

1:50 Panel Discussion:

Panel Members:
- Liliane Gilbert, Seattle Central Community College
- Magdalena M. Ladd, Clackamas Community College
- Leonora Guinazzo, Portland Community College
- Ellen Hofman, Highline Community College
- Anthony Caprio, Lehman College, City University of New York

Topics for discussion:
- Articulation-High Schools (Ladd)
- Foreign Language Requirements at Community Colleges and Universities (Gilbert)
- Community Involvement (Ladd)
- Classes other than Beginning Foreign Language: Literature, Career Oriented, Conversational, etc. (Ladd)
- Innovative Courses and Methods (Guinazzo)
- Textbooks and Materials (Gilbert and Caprio)

Discussion and election of chairperson for 1977

3:00- 4:00 PUBLICATIONS WORK SESSION FOR 1977 SECTION HEADS (Room 727)

Chairperson: David Benseler, Washington State University

PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Executive Committee Meeting

Seattle-Tacoma Holiday Inn, April 22-23, 1976

MINUTES

The PNCFL Executive Committee held its annual meeting at the Seattle-Tacoma Holiday Inn on April 22-23, 1976. The first session was convened by President Michael Macdonald at 4 p.m. on April 22. Elected officers in attendance included President Macdonald, Hector Hammerly representing Past-President Charles Bouton, President-Elect Sara Ellen Malueg, and Secretary-Treasurer Harry Reinert. Elected Committee members included Glen Probst, Leonora Guinazzo, Audrey Aaron, Betty Mace Matluck, Wolf Hollerbach, and Duane Jackson. Ex-officio Committee members attending were Sonja Hunt, IAFLT president and PNCFL National Delegate; Dieter Romboy, WAFLT president; and Kenneth Hegler, BCATML president. Appointed officers attending were David Benseler, Publications Director; Rex Dahl, Publications Business Manager; Eva Hagemeyer, Membership Chairperson; Klaus Engelhardt, Coordinator for Institutional Support; Dwayne Adcock, 1976 Conference Chairman; and Elizabeth Stevenson, 1977 Conference Chairperson. Also in attendance at the President's invitation were Ray Verzasconi and Marie-France Hilgar.

REPORTS

A. National Delegate

Sonja Hunt, who this year was the first appointee to the newly created position of National Delegate, reported on meetings of three organizations at which she has represented PNCFL in Washington, D.C. in November 1975: Fédération Internationale des Professeurs des Langues Vivantes (FIPLV), American Council on Teaching Foreign Languages (ACTFL), and National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations (NFMLTA).

1. *FIPLV*. Acting on a recommendation last year from Hector Hammerly, the Executive Committee during the year approved by mail ballot the submission of an application for admission of PNCFL into FIPLV. This organization is a world-wide federation of national and international foreign language organizations, drawing some of its support from UNESCO. Among its other activities, FIPLV sponsors investigations of foreign language programs and pedagogical techniques in all parts of the world and reports its findings to member organizations on a regular basis. Until last fall, ACTFL was the only other organization in North America which was a member of FIPLV. Sonja Hunt and Mike Macdonald met with the FIPLV Executive Board to present PNCFL's application. Following a favorable reception by the Board, PNCFL was voted full membership in FIPLV at the general membership meeting the following day.

2. *ACTFL*. PNCFL has for several years been an Affiliate Member of ACTFL. In drawing up a revised constitution, ACTFL is proposing to eliminate the two classes of organizational membership which it previously has had and combine them into one. However, in terms of the proposed new definition of organizational membership, PNCFL would not have qualified. Along with representatives of several other organizations, at the Affiliate Assembly Sonja objected on behalf of PNCFL to this exclusion from membership. As a result of the objections raised by the Affiliates, the revised constitution would now provide membership in ACTFL for regional organizations such as PNCFL.

3. *NFMLTA*. The primary function of NFMLTA is the publication of the *Modern Language Journal*. There was a report that *MLJ* is doing well financially, but there was also a lengthy discussion of ways of increasing subscriptions. Wallace Klein, *MLJ* Business Manager for many years, announced his resignation at the end of 1976, and Gordon Silber, Secretary-Treasurer of NFMLTA, indicated that he will not be a candidate for reelection for the 1978-1981 term. Silber again expressed concern that some member organizations (such as PNCFL) do not appoint representatives for at least a three-year term.

B. Secretary-Treasurer

Harry Reinert gave an interim financial report, requesting that PNCFL adopt a fiscal year running from July 1-June 30. Under the current system of reporting at the time of the annual conference, the financial statement must reflect part of the income and expenses from the previous conference and only partially reflects the probable income and expenses for the current conference.

**By consensus, the Committee agreed the the recommendation that the fiscal year be considered July 1-June 30.

Accordingly, the financial report for the period April 16, 1975-June 30, 1976 will be prepared in June and will appear in the 1976 *Proceedings*. At that time, Harry will also submit by mail to the Committee a proposed budget for 1976-77.

The financial situation of PNCFL is currently very good, owing in large part to the following factors:

1. Simon Fraser University and the Department of Modern Languages were very generous in underwriting many expenses of the 1976 conference in Vancouver and in the publication of the *Proceedings*.

2. Oregon State University and its Department of Modern Languages have made it possible to publish the Proceedings at a very nominal cost and again this year covered the typing expense for one volume of the Proceedings.

3. Sales of Proceedings in 1975-76 were up almost 300% over sales in 1974-75.

4. The efforts to enroll institutional support, as PNCFL did until a few years ago, provided additional revenue.

5. Finally, many departments and many individuals within PNCFL have given generously of their time and facilities without reimbursement.

Harry also reported on the current status of the "lost" volumes of the 1974 Proceedings Volume 2. Last year PNCFL entered into an agreement with the MLA Publications Center for MLA to include in its national listing the pedagogical volume of the Proceedings. Hector Hammerly shipped from British Columbia more than one hundred volumes of the 1974 Proceedings Volume 2 to the MLA in New York. Through a breakdown of communications within MLA, when the cartons were delivered to the MLA freight dock in New York, delivery was refused by MLA. Since the shipment had come from Canada, the entire shipment was seized by U.S. Customs and is currently being held in bond in a warehouse in New Jersey. Walter Achtert of MLA reported by phone the day before the Committee meeting that several attempts to get the books out of bond and delivered to New York had failed.

This report raised a discussion within the Committee concerning the degree of commitment by PNCFL to this agreement, and the desirability of continuing such an arrangement was questioned.

C. Publications Business Manager

Rex Dahl reported that orders for Proceedings, including back issues, are being received at a steady rate; the stock in some back issues has been totally exhausted. When requests for the 1974 Proceedings Volume 2 first began to arrive, they were forwarded to MLA in New York, but Rex has heard no response whether these orders were ever filled.

**It was moved and seconded that the agreement with MLA should be cancelled. After discussion, the motion was tabled.

Reacting to the earlier report of the increased sales in 1975-76, Rex Dahl said he felt this increase was due primarily to the increasing reputation of PNCFL. He noted that he is receiving many orders from jobbers who are ordering both volumes for libraries.

At the 1975 Committee meeting some discussion was held regarding the possibility of selling advertising in the Proceedings. Ray Verzasconi reported from Oregon State University during the year that the university could not print the Proceedings if they contained paid advertising. The Committee by mail ballot this spring had voted to discuss further the comparative costs of commercial printing with paid advertising compared to the costs at the university press. Consequently, Rex had not solicited any advertising for the 1976 Proceedings.

Rex strongly urged that the entire stock of the Proceedings be stored in one location, rather than in two or more places as has been the case this year. David Benseler also suggested that the Publications Business Manager should be provided with a budget for solicitation of further orders.

D. Institutional Support Coordinator

Klaus Engelhardt reported that in response to two mailings to departments throughout the Northwest, eleven foreign language departments had joined PNCFL at $25 each. In return the department could name a representative to attend the conference with all rights of membership. There were different understandings whether the supporting department would receive only one or both volumes of the Proceedings.

**The Committee approved the continuation of the program in principle for next year, but stipulated that an ad hoc committee should be appointed by the President to study further the implementation of the program.

As a way of increasing the attractiveness of the concept of institutional support for PNCFL, Klaus Engelhardt recommended that the 1977 program include a forum for departmental chairman.

**The Committee approved a motion that the 1977 conference program include an informal forum for departmental chairmen, i.e. a time would be set aside for departmental chairmen to meet and exchange ideas but not necessarily including any formal presentations.

E. Conference Chairman

Dwayne Adcock pointed out that the 1976 conference program was full and varied, including some areas not previously covered, e.g. Scandinavian languages. He said that his distance from the conference site

(Eugene, Oregon) had not been too much of a problem, since many local details had been handled by Michael Macdonald.

The biggest problem in organizing the program, Adcock said, was in setting up the pedagogical sections. He urged the establishment of permanent sections in pedagogy analogous to the continuing literary sections.

F. Membership Chairperson.

Eva Hagemeyer indicated that the biggest problem related to membership registration was that the current membership cards make possible as many as ten separate errors when the member is filling them out, e.g. some persons pay both membership and conference registration, they do not indicate which volume of the *Proceedings* they wish, etc. In each such instance, she must contact the member personally to get the information straightened out. She strongly recommended that the membership cards be redesigned in order to reduce the possibility of error. She also indicated that because of budget cutbacks in her institution, she needs to be provided with some clerical help through PNCFL.

G. Publications Director

David Benseler reported that he had read 157 papers, of which 110 would be given at the conference, and that he had written 234 letters regarding format of the papers. He had refused to send a section chairman a sloppy manuscript, and thus had attempted to get authors to have papers in proper format before they were forwarded to section chairmen.

One section chairman had written to complain that the papers for his section had been delivered so late he did not have time to evaluate them properly. His suggestion had been that authors should submit two copies of their papers--one to the Publications Director and one to the Section Chairman. Benseler feels that this would not work, since he did not feel that one could expect full compliance with such a requirement. Also in response to this letter, he said he had kept all papers for each section until the deadline date and then had shipped them in a single bundle (as suggested by the Secretary-Treasurer), which reduced mailing costs.

The first session adjourned at 6 p.m. for dinner, hosted by Seattle Pacific College.

ITEMS FOR DISCUSSION AND ACTION

The second session of the Executive Committee meeting convened at 7:30 p.m. President Macdonald indicated that a number of policy questions were on the agenda, on which the Committee needed to take action.

A. *Proceedings*

1. Role of Publications Director. David Benseler asked for clarification of the position of Publications Director, especially since during the discussion there had been several references to the *Editorial* Director. Mike Macdonald responded by reading from the PNCFL Bylaws, Article II, Section 6: "The Publications Director shall be responsible for overall management of all publications of the Council, including arranging both for the editing and printing of these publications. Publication format and editorial policy shall be determined by the Executive Committee. The Publications Director may appoint whatever Editors he deems necessary." Thus, said Mike, the primary role of the Publications Director is the overall management of all publications; although he may elect to serve as an editor, he need not. His primary responsibility is to see that the publications do appear, either through his own efforts or those whom he appoints.

2. Solicitation of papers. David Benseler recommended that the same procedures be followed in soliciting and receiving manuscripts for the 1977 conference as for 1976, i.e. that all papers be sent first to the Publications Director and then forwarded to the appropriate Section Chairmen.

The question of what would be a proper deadline for receipt of papers was discussed at length: an early deadline is necessary if papers are to be processed adequately prior to the conference, but an early deadline also keeps many persons from submitting a paper at all. There is also a difference in importance of deadlines with respect to publication in the *Proceedings* and presentation at the conference.

**The consensus of the Committee was that the Publications Director and Conference Chairperson should jointly make the decision regarding deadlines for submission of manuscripts within the area of their respective responsibility.

**The Committee approved a motion that effective next year all papers would be sent initially to the Section Chairmen, but that no papers would be accepted for publication in the *Proceedings* without the approval of the Publications Director. All papers must be in final form prior to the conference, and only those papers selected by the Section Chairman for presentation at the conference will be submitted to the Editorial Director for consideration as part of the *Proceedings*.

**The Committee approved a motion that any manuscripts requiring corrections in format will be returned to the Section Chairman by the Publications Director with an indication of what changes need to be made. It will then be the responsibility of the Section Chairman to see that the paper is put into proper form. Any paper not in proper form by press time will not be published.

3. Typing fee. David Benseler pointed out that the $5 typing fee to be assessed from authors for each paper to be published in the 1976 Proceedings will not cover even half the actual cost of having the papers typed for publication. There was some discussion of raising the fee this year to $10 per paper. However, the consensus of the Committee was that such a charge could not be imposed retroactively, and since in 1975 the decision was made that the fee would be $5, the organization would have to absorb the additional cost this year.

**The motion was approved by the Committee that effective with the 1977 Proceedings, a fee of $1 for each double-spaced page would be imposed for any paper accepted for publication in the Proceedings. This fee would be collected prior to the conference at which the paper was presented.

4. Place of Publication. Ray Verzasconi, who edited one volume of the 1975 Proceedings and oversaw the publication of both volumes at Oregon State University press, presented a cost breakdown on printing charges. He also discovered that it is less expensive to PNCFL to print the Proceedings in two parts rather than to combine both parts into a single volume. He announced that Oregon State University was willing to print the 1976 Proceedings at basically the same cost as in 1975. David Benseler indicated that these costs were far below any other bids he was able to obtain.

**The Committee approved a motion that the 1976 Proceedings be printed at Oregon State University.

David Benseler visited National Textbook Company earlier this year to investigate the possibility of arranging with them for publication of the Proceedings. He learned that National Textbook will not consider such an arrangement until PNCFL can guarantee at least one thousand orders.

5. Printing run. Ray Verzasconi indicated that once the photographic masters have been made, additional copies can be run on demand at a cost not much greater than at the time of the original run. The Committee agreed that some extra stock of Proceedings should be run initially in order to service new accounts, but an effort should be made to keep the extra from being excessive.

**The Committee approved a motion to print fifty (50) copies of each volume of the Proceedings in excess of the number currently required to supply the membership, standing orders, and review (complimentary) copies.

The Committee also recognized that the decision regarding to whom complimentary copies should be sent should be made by the Publications Director.

6. Selection of Articles for Publication. The question was again raised whether every paper presented at the conference should be guaranteed publication in the Proceedings. This matter was discussed at length at the 1975 Committee meeting, but had remained unresolved. The factors involved in the discussion included these: 1. with the rapidly expanding number of presentations at the annual conference, the cost of publishing every paper is becoming excessive; the alternative, however, of limiting the number of presentations for the sake of saving publications costs does not seem to be an adequate answer; 2. some presentations may be very effective before an audience but do not readily lend themselves to print; 3. the automatic publication of every paper presented may have a poor effect on the overall quality of the Proceedings, since one section chairman may have to select eight papers from a total of twenty or thirty and another scarcely has eight papers submitted and is therefore tempted to accept each paper, irrespective of its quality; 4. the automatic publication of every paper presented removes from the Publications Director the authority or ability to publish a balanced set of papers and reduces his role to that of a copy reader.

**The Committee approved a motion that effective with the 1977 Proceedings the Publications Director would be empowered to select for publication a balanced representation of papers which have been ranked by the Section Chairman.

The Committee emphasized that this change in policy should be made public immediately and that both Section Chairmen and authors submitting papers for consideration for the 1977 conference should be aware of this well in advance of the conference.

7. Author's and PNCFL's Rights to Papers Submitted. By tradition in years past anyone who presented a paper at the conference could refuse to have the paper published in the Proceedings. In light of the Committee's approval of the motion to select which papers would be published in the Proceedings (item 6 above), some members of the Committee argued that the author should have the same right to refuse to have his paper published in the Proceedings. The argument on the other side of the issue was that since PNCFL offers a platform where individuals may present their ideas, PNCFL should have the right to publish those presentations if it chooses to do so. It was further argued that the reputation

for the quality of the *Proceedings* will increase only if the *Proceedings* include the best presentations available; thus, not to insist on the right to publish the best papers from the conference could undermine the quality of the *Proceedings*.

**It was moved and seconded that an individual has the right to refuse to have published in the *Proceedings* a paper he presents at the conference. The motion failed.

**The Committee approved a motion that PNCFL reserves first rights to publish any presentation made at the annual conference, effective with the 1977 conference. Upon notification that a presentation will not be printed in the *Proceedings*, all rights to publication revert to the author.

The contents of each *Proceedings* are copyrighted by PNCFL. Occasionally, an author requests permission to publish elsewhere an article which originally appeared in the *Proceedings*.

**The Committee approved a motion that authors of articles published in the *Proceedings* may publish such articles elsewhere if they give proper publication credit to PNCFL. The copyright release would be obtained from the current Publications Director.

8. *ERIC Involvement*. Peter Eddy, Associate Director of the Center for Applied Linguistics, has requested of PNCFL authorization to add the *Proceedings* to the ERIC system. In February he sent a detailed document to Committee members outlining the ERIC operation and its advantages to PNCFL. Basically, inclusion of the *Proceedings* in the ERIC system will insure listing of the published articles in the nationally circulated ERIC abstracts and will make it possible for individuals to order from ERIC copies of individual articles either in microfiche or hard copy (Level I). Members of the Committee could see no drawbacks to PNCFL from such involvement and could only see that PNCFL would benefit.

**Members of the Committee approved a motion that PNCFL accept Level I involvement with ERIC. The release would be signed by the Publications Director.

B. *Constitutional Changes*

Experience the past year with the revised constitution formally adopted in December 1974 indicated that several changes needed to be recommended to the membership at the regular business meeting.

1. *Additional representation within PNCFL*. Although the constitution (Article III, Section 2) provided for the addition of presidents of other state or provincial associations on the Executive Committee, no provision had been made for the addition of the names of these states or provinces to Article I, Section 1, in which the geographical scope of PNCFL is defined. In discussing this issue, several Committee members expressed concern that the total membership of the Executive Committee could be excessively large. Thus they felt that provision should also be made that if another state or province should wish to joint PNCFL, the matter should be submitted to the Committee for approval.

**The Committee approved a motion to submit to the membership the following change in Article III, Section 2 of the constitution: To the final sentence would be added the phrase "and approval of the Executive Committee." An additional sentence would be added to the same article, reading "Upon approval by the Committee, the name of the state or province will be added to Article I, Section 1."

***These changes were subsequently approved by the membership at the annual business meeting on April 24, 1976.

2. *Changes in Status and Terms of Office*. It was moved and seconded that the Publications Director, Publications Business Manager, and the National Delegate should be made ex-officio members of the Executive Committee and that their terms should each be three years. Because of its complexity, the issue was divided.

Proponents of the original motion argued that: 1. because of the importance of the *Proceedings* to the operation of PNCFL as a whole, both the Publications Director and Publications Business Manager needed to have a vote within the Committee; 2. since the National Delegate was to be the spokesman for PNCFL at other organizational meetings, that person needed to be intimately involved with the workings of PNCFL; 3. that the two publications positions demanded continuity for successful and efficient operation, and this could be achieved only through longer terms of office; 4. PNCFL has been requested repeatedly by NFMLTA to appoint a representative to that group for a term of at least three years.

On the opposing side, concern was again expressed about expanding the membership of the Committee to such an extent that it would not be able to operate efficiently. It was also argued that although these three positions require many hours of effort in behalf of PNCFL, other appointive offices are also very demanding, e.g. Conference Chairman, Membership Chairman.

**After the issue was divided, the Committee approved submitting to the membership a recommendation that Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution be amended to include the Publications Director as an ex-officio member of the Executive Committee; the Committee also approved submitting to the membership a recommendation that Article I, Section 4 of the Bylaws by amended to reflect: 1. the Publications Director and the Publications Business Manager should each be appointed to a three-year term; 2. the National Delegate should be appointed from the membership of the Executive Committee.

The Committee specified that should the recommendation be approved it would be understood that the current Publications Business Manager's three-year term would have commenced in 1975 and the Publication Director's three-year term would commence in 1976, in order to insure that both positions would not change in the same year.

***The membership at the annual business meeting on April 24, 1976, approved inserting the words "the Publications Director and" into the second sentence of Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution, so the sentence reads thus: "Additional ex officio voting members shall include the Publications Director and the Presidents of the state or provincial language associations within the area specified in Article I, Section 1."

***The membership at the annual business meeting on April 24, 1976, edited and approved substituting the following sentences for the second sentence of Article I, Section 4 of the Bylaws: "All appointments are for a one-year term except for Publications Director and Publications Business Manager, which are for three years. The National Delegate will be appointed from the membership of the Executive Committee. Appointees may be reappointed in ensuing years." The remainder of the original article is unchanged.

3. Membership Requirement for Participation. It was pointed out to the Committee that there was no requirement stated in the Constitution or Bylaws that a person needs to be a member of PNCFL in order to present a paper at the annual conference. Although this was clearly intended, as reflected in the description of the duties of the Membership Chairman (Article II, Section 5 of the Bylaws): "The Membership Chairman . . . shall ascertain that persons submitting papers for presentation at the annual conference are members in good standing," there was nevertheless no provision that someone submitting a paper who was not a member in good standing would be excluded.

**The Committee approved submitting to the membership a recommendation that an additional section be added to Article IV of the Bylaws: "Section 3. Only members in good standing are eligible to present papers at the annual conference. Participants invited by the Conference Chairman are excluded from this provision."

***This article was approved by the membership at the annual business meeting on April 24, 1976.

C. Conferences

1. Pedagogy Sections. 1976 Conference Chairman Dwayne Adcock had recommended that the Committee establish permanent sections within pedagogy. David Benseler presented a list of ten categories which might serve this purpose. After considerable discussion, the Committee expanded the list to twelve.

**The Committee approved establishing the following sections within pedagogy for the annual conference: general pedagogy, testing, culture, bilingual/bicultural education, applied linguistics, teaching the foreign literature, curricular innovations and developments, teaching materials and media, study and teaching abroad, career concepts in foreign languages, teacher education and certification, teaching methods and techniques.

2. Selection of Section Chairpersons. Although in future years the section chairpersons for the pedagogy sections should be selected in the same way as in the literary sections, it was agreed that this year it would be appropriate for the President to recruit and appoint chairpersons for these newly created sections.

As in previous years, there was again discussion of the selection process for Section Chairpersons. Especially in light of the new demands being made on these persons, the Committee agreed that among the qualities which members of various sections should keep in mind when electing a person to this position were: 1. the ability to edit manuscripts; 2. sufficient time available both to solicit and to edit manuscripts; 3. the ability to judge well and to make constructive criticisms to authors who have submitted manuscripts; 4. a willingness to serve; 5. membership in PNCFL.

**The Committee approved at its morning session on April 23 a motion that Section Chairpersons would not be eligible to read papers in sections which they are chairing.

3. Role of Host Institution. Since the President is no longer necessarily from the host institution for a conference, the question had been raised during the year what was expected of the host institution. During the discussion of this issue, there was agreement that: 1. PNCFL did wish to continue the practice of having a host institution for its conference and, 2. the location of the Conference Chairman

should not be a factor in locating the conference. There was general agreement within the Committee that among the important functions of the host institution would be: 1. selection of facilities for the conference; 2. provision of backup support for the conference; 3. making local arrangements for the conference.

4. Site Selection. Two recommendations for the site of the 1978 conference were presented. Marie-France Hilgar issued an invitation to PNCFL to hold its 1978 conference in Las Vegas. Oregon State University and Portland State University had also issued a joint invitation to meet in Portland. Just two days before the Committee meeting, Harry Reinert had received letters of invitation from state and local officials and the Portland Chamber of Commerce. Although the invitation to Nevada was very attractive, the Committee felt that planning to hold a conference that distance from the heart of the Northwest should be postponed until a later date.

**The Committee approved submitting to the membership a recommendation that PNCFL accept the invitation to hold its 1978 conference in Portland.

***The membership at its annual business meeting on April 24, 1976, accepted the invitation to meet in Portland in 1978.

5. 1977 Conference. Elizabeth Stevenson gave a preliminary report on initial preparations for the 1977 conference in Spokane. She discussed the various possible facilities which might be available and explained her reasons for recommending the Ridpath Hotel. The Committee concurred with her recommendation. She also said that the date for the Spokane conference is set for April 21-23, 1977. There was some discussion of possible conflicts between this date and dates of other major conferences, but there was general agreement to stay with this proposed date unless a major conflict appeared in the immediate future.

The second session of the Committee meeting was adjourned at 1:40 a.m.

D. Nominations for Officers

The Committee reconvened for a short meeting at 9 a.m. April 23, 1976, for the purpose of drawing up a slate of nominees to present to the general membership and for discussion of any other business left undone from the previous session.

**After receiving acceptance of the nominations from the candidates, the Committee at a meeting at 5:30 p.m. confirmed the following slate for presentation at the business meeting:
President: Sara Eleen Malueg, Oregon State University
Vice-President: Wolf Hollerbach, University of Alaska
Committee Members (3- year term):
    Rex Dahl, Montana State University
    Eva Hagemeyer, Shoreline Community College (Seattle)
    Loretta Wollett, Cleveland High School (Portland)

At the business meeting on April 24, two additional nominations were presented from the floor:

John Wang, University of Montana
Gisela Schimmelbusch, Highline Community College (Seattle)

At the business meeting, it was pointed out that with the election of Wolf Hollerbach to the office of Vice-President, his two-year term as a Committee member was vacant.

***The membership approved a motion to elect the three candidates with the highest vote totals to full three-year terms as Committee members and to elect the candidate with the next highest number of votes to fill the unexpired two years of Wolf Hollerbach's term.

***The membership elected the slate presented by the Executive Committee and elected John Wang to a two-year term on the Committee to fill Wolf Hollerbach's position.

E. Standing Committees

At the morning session on April 23, there was discussion of the difficulty of trying to accomplish all the necessary business of the organization with only one meeting each year of the Executive Committee.

**The Committee approved a motion that the incoming President be empowered and encouraged to appoint one or more of the following standing committees: constitution, selection of section chairpersons, publications, site selection, nominations. Committee members would be involved in these standing committees to whatever extent is feasible, but membership would not be limited to members of the Executive Committee.

F. Further Business

The question of the agreement for distribution of the Proceedings by MLA was again raised at the morning session. It was recommended that the whole issue be submitted to a standing committee on publications.

**It was moved and seconded that additional groups of fifty copies of the Proceedings be published as MLA requested them. The motion failed.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The annual business meeting of the PNCFL membership was convened at 8:30 a.m. April 24, 1976, by President Michael Macdonald. The membership took the following actions:

1. Adopted the changes in the Constitution and Bylaws as indicated above.
2. Elected the slate of officers as indicated above.

One member from the floor raised a question whether it would not be possible to have a reduced membership fee for colleagues who have retired. President Macdonald replied that such a change could probably not be made on the floor at that time and requested that the recommendation be submitted to the Executive Committee for consideration prior to next year's meeting.

The meeting was adjourned at 9:35 a.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Harry Reinert
Secretary/Treasurer

PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Summary

April 16, 1975 - June 30, 1976

CREDITS

Memberships, conference registrations	4,339.13			
Institutional support	275.00			
Total receipts		4,614.13		
Refunds				
Vancouver conference	25.13			
Seattle conference	125.75			
Total refunds		-150.88		
NET MEMBERSHIP INCOME			4,463.25	
Proceedings				
Sales	1,083.23			
Typing fee (1976)	330.00			
TOTAL			1,413.23	
Conference display rental				
Vancouver (after 4/16/75)	105.00			
Refund	- 20.00			
Balance		84.80		
Seattle	147.00			
Refund	- 15.00			
Balance		132.00		
TOTAL DISPLAYS INCOME			216.80	
NET INCOME 4/16/75-6/30/76				6,093.28
Cash on hand 4/16/75				2,322.75
TOTAL RECEIPTS				8,416.03

DEBITS

Proceedings	1,744.31	
Conferences	2,271.88	
Membership information and conference promotion	239.98	
Postage	267.05	
Supplies	69.72	
Miscellaneous	78.10	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES 4/16/75-6/30/76		4,671.04
Net balance 4/16/75-6/30/76	1,422.24	
SAVINGS ACCOUNT BALANCE		2,149.69
Cash on hand 6/30/76		3,744.99
TOTAL ASSETS		5,894.68

PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Itemized Expenditures

April 16, 1975 - June 30, 1976

PROCEEDINGS

Advertising ['74 vol. 2]			
[Layout (paid prior to 4/16/75)	21.80]		
Modern Language Journal	50.00		
Foreign Language Annals	85.00		
TOTAL (paid in '75-'76)		135.00	
Printing ['75 *Proceedings*]			
Cover layout (vol. 2)	46.41		
Volume 1+	645.77		
Volume 2++	738.96		
TOTAL		1,431.14	
Miscellaneous			
Postage	111.54		
National Textbook contact	51.52		
Supplies	15.11		
TOTAL		178.17	
TOTAL *PROCEEDINGS* EXPENDITURES			1,744.31

+Student wages for mailing *Proceedings*, plus $564.96 for typing Volume 1 were covered by the Department of Modern Languages, Oregon State University

++Typing costs for Volume 2 were covered by the Department of Modern Languages, Simon Fraser University.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Itemized Expenditures

April 16, 1965 - June 30, 1976

CONFERENCES

Vancouver Conference ['75]+				
Meals	1,386.22			
Meals refunds	129.74			
Total meals		1,515.96		
Receipts (after 4/16/75)		-1,190.49		
Net meals expense			325.47	
Speaker's expenses		616.45		
Honorarium from Simon Fraser University		-300.00		
Net speaker's expense			316.45	
Hyatt Regency room rental		420.00		
Donation from Simon Fraser University		-175.00		
Net room expense			245.00	
Vancouver School Board			35.00	
Supplies			4.10	
TOTAL VANCOUVER EXPENSE				926.02
Seattle Conference ['76]				
Food services		1,109.20		
Receipts		-766.55		
Net food service costs			342.65	
Speaker's expenses			528.35	
Charter buses			226.00	
Program printing			127.47	
Registration materials			71.39	
Donation to WSU choir travel expenses			50.00	
TOTAL SEATTLE EXPENSE				1,345.86
TOTAL CONFERENCE EXPENSES				2,271.88

+In addition to figures shown here, Simon Fraser University paid in full the cost of printing the conference program.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Itemized Expenditures

April 16, 1975 - June 30, 1976

MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION AND CONFERENCE PROMOTION

Printing Expenses			
Fall announcement	56.00		
Spring announcements	90.00		
Membership cards	49.88		
TOTAL		195.88	
Student wages for mailings		44.10	
TOTAL EXPENSES			239.98

MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES

ACTFL dues	25.00	
Canadian currency discount	43.87	
Bank charges for returned checks	9.23	
TOTAL		78.10

PNCFL CONSTITUTION AND BYLAWS

Approved December 1, 1974

Amended April 24, 1976

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I. NAME AND PURPOSES

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages, serving the following: Alaska, Alberta, British Columbia, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

Section 2. Its purposes shall be to foster effective teaching, study, and research on the various foreign languages, their respective literatures and cultures, and the field of linguistics, as well as to promote the professional interests of its members.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Membership shall be open both to persons and institutions upon payment of the appropriate annual dues. Membership shall be of four classes, as follows:

(1) Regular membership: Anyone interested in foreign languages is eligible for regular membership.

(2) Joint membership: Any two persons eligible for regular membership who receive their mail at the same home address may upon payment of the appropriate annual dues share a joint membership.

(3) Junior membership: Any student is eligible for junior membership.

(4) Institutional membership: Any educational institution is eligible for institutional membership.

Section 2. The amount of the annual dues and entitlement to specific publications for each class of membership shall be determined by the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the members present at the next regular business meeting.

ARTICLE III. OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers shall be a President, a Vice President (President-Elect), and a Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. There shall be an Executive Committee composed of nine elected members in addition to the President, Vice President (President-Elect), the outgoing President, and the Secretary-Treasurer. Insofar as possible, the nine elected members shall be appropriately distributed with respect to geography, language affiliation, and type of educational institution. Additional *ex officio* voting members shall include the Publications Director, and the Presidents of the state or provincial language associations within the area specified in Article I, Section 1. Other state or provincial language associations may be represented on the Executive Committee upon written request and approval of the Executive Committee. Upon approval by the Committee, the name of the state or province will be added to Article I, Section 1.

Section 3. The elections to the Executive Committee shall take place at the regular annual business meeting. A slate of officers shall be placed in nomination by the Executive Committee in accordance with policies set forth in the Bylaws. Any member may make additional nominations from the floor.

ARTICLE IV. MEETINGS

Section 1. The Council shall hold a regular annual meeting and may hold additional meetings. The place and time of the regular annual meeting shall be determined by the President in consultation with the Executive Committee.

Section 2. There shall be a business meeting at each regular annual meeting.

ARTICLE V. AMENDMENTS

Section 1. Amendments to the Constitution may be made by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the regular business session next following the one in which they have been proposed, or by a two-thirds vote of those members voting by mail on amendments that have been proposed by mail at any time between business sessions.

Section 2. In unusual or urgent circumstances, when deemed wise and of benefit to the Council, Section 1 of this Article may be suspended by a unanimous vote of the members present at the annual regular business meeting in order to effect the immediate adoption of a proposed amendment to this Constitution. An emergency amendment under this provision must be made by a three-quarters vote of the members present.

Section 3. Changes in the Bylaws may be made by the vote of a majority of those present at any regular business meeting.

BYLAWS

ARTICLE I. APPOINTIVE POSITIONS AND NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Section 1. All officers elected or appointed, and all members of the Executive Committee, shall be members in good standing.

Section 2. The nominees for President, Vice President, and Secretary-Treasurer, shall be selected as follows: the candidate for President placed in nomination by the Executive Committee shall be the incumbent Vice President. The term of the President shall be one year. The term of the Vice President shall be one year. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be elected for a four-year term.

Section 3. If between the time of his election and the next regular meeting circumstances arise which prevent the President from functioning, the Vice President will assume the duties of the President. The Executive Committee may, at its discretion, appoint a Vice President pro tem under these circumstances.

Section 4. The President, with the approval of the Executive Committee, shall appoint a Publications Director, a Publications Business Manager, a National Delegate, a Membership Chairman, a Conference Chairman, and any additional committees or agents that are deemed necessary. All appointments are for a one-year term except for Publications Director and Publications Business Manager, which are for three years. The National Delegate will be appointed from the membership of the Executive Committee. Appointees may be reappointed in ensuing years. The President may appoint members to fill any of these positions in the event vacancies occur before the expiration of terms. One person may hold more than one appointive position at the same time.

Section 5. The nine elected members of the Executive Committee shall each hold office for three years, three being elected each year, and may not succeed themselves.

ARTICLE II. DUTIES OF OFFICERS AND APPOINTEES

Section 1. The President shall call and preside over all meetings of the Council as well as those of the Executive Committee. He shall be responsible for the administration of the Council. He shall name all Committees, charge them with their duties, and receive their reports.

Section 2. The Vice President shall assist the President in the various duties which the President may assign him, and serve as President in the event the President is unable to discharge his duties.

Section 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep a written record of the general business meetings and meetings of the Executive Committee; shall maintain communication with other regional and national organizations, in particular those with which the Council is affiliated; shall notify all members of each meeting and its agenda at least one month before the date of the meeting; shall have charge of receiving, disbursing, and accounting for all funds of the Council, and shall submit to the Executive Committee at its regular meeting a proposed budget for the coming year.

Section 4. The Executive Committee shall assist the President in formulation and administration of the Council's policies.

Section 5. The Membership Chairman shall maintain up-to-date membership records; shall actively seek to expand the membership; shall ascertain that persons submitting papers for presentation at the annual conference are members in good standing.

Section 6. The Publications Director shall be responsible for overall management of all publications of the Council, including arranging both for the editing and printing of these publications. Publication format and editorial policy shall be determined by the Executive Committee. The Publications Director may appoint whatever Editors he deems necessary.

Section 7. The Publications Business Manager shall be responsible for soliciting advertising for the Council's publications; shall assure that all members in good standing receive those publications to which their membership entitles them; shall seek institutional and other nonmember orders for the Council's publications; and shall be responsible for all mailing and billing in connection with any publications of the Council.

Section 8. The National Delegate shall serve as liaison between the Council and those national organizations of which the Council is either an affiliate or associate member. Specifically, he shall represent the Council at the annual meetings of the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations and of the Affiliate Assembly of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. He may also be directed by the President to represent the Council at other regional or national meetings. He shall report to the Executive Committee at least once each year.

Section 9. The Conference Chairman shall be responsible for all organizational details connected with the annual conference, including achieving a balance of literature, pedagogy, and linguistics in program content; establishing the format and sequence of presentations on the program; contacting and arranging for special speakers and exhibitors; and arranging for publicity in connection with the program. He may appoint assistants as he deems necessary. He shall attend all meetings of the Executive Committee and shall work within the policy guidelines set by the Executive Committee. The Conference Chairman may commit funds of the Council to meet expenses approved in advance by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE III. MEETINGS

Section 1. The place of the annual meeting shall be decided two years in advance.

Section 2. The annual meeting shall not be located two successive years in low population areas.

ARTICLE IV. DUES AND MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. At the beginning of each academic year, the Membership Chairman shall send his billing for annual dues to all members on record as of that date.

Section 2. All memberships shall be effective from November first through October thirty-first.

Section 3. Only members in good standing are eligible to present papers at the annual conference. Participants invited by the Conference Chairman are excluded from this provision.

PNCFL 1950 - 1976

Year	Sponsoring Institution
1950	University of Washington Seattle, Washington
1951	University of British Columbia Vancouver, British Columbia
1952	University of Oregon Eugene, Oregon
1953	Reed College Portland, Oregon
1954	Washington State University Pullman, Washington
1955	University of Washington Seattle, Washington
1956	Montana State University Missoula, Montana
1957	University of British Columbia Vancouver, British Columbia
1958	University of Oregon Eugene, Oregon
1959	University of Idaho Moscow, Idaho
1960	University of Washington Seattle, Washington
1961	Gonzaga University Spokane, Washington
1962	Portland State University Portland, Oregon
1963	University of Alberta Edmonton, Alberta (Conference held at Banff, Alberta)
1964	Montana State University Missoula, Montana
1965	University of Washington Seattle, Washington
1966	University of Victoria Victoria, British Columbia
1967	Gonzaga University Spokane, Washington
1968	Caroll College Helena, Montana
1969	Lewis and Clark College Portland, Oregon
1970	University of Victoria Victoria, British Columbia
1971	The College of Idaho Caldwell, Idaho (Conference held at Boise, Idaho)
1972	Oregon State University Corvallis, Oregon (Conference held at Gleneden Beach, Oregon)
1973	Western Washington State College Bellingham, Washington (Conference held at Orcas Island, Washington)
1974	Eastern Washington State College Cheney, Washington (Conference held at Spokane, Washington)
1975	Simon Fraser University Burnaby, British Columbia (Conference held at Vancouver, British Columbia)
1976	Seattle Pacific College Seattle, Washington

1976 PACIFIC NORTHWEST COUNCIL ON FOREIGN LANGUAGES
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